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MEMOIRS

OF

CHAND BIBI

THE PRINCESS OP AHMADNAGAR

BY

SAYYID AHMAD-ULLAH QADRI

Author of:— Critical notes on Qamus ul-Mashahvir, The Antiquities of Warangal, 'The Antiquities of Bidar, Seven Historians of Muslim India, Usman-Namah, Ramus ul-A"rifin, etc.

WITH

Avant-Propos

BY

M. EDMOND GAUDART
Gouverneur des Colonies en retraite
President de la Societe de L'Histoire de L'Inde Française

Tarikh Office, HYDERABAD-DECCAN

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Nawab Lutf ud-Dawlah Memorial Series

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The Late Nawab Lutf ud-Dowlah

Muhammad Lutf ud-Din Khan Bahadur Latafat Jang

(Born 16th July, 1883, Died 31st March, 1937, A.D.)

The object in view is to record our feeling of gratitude for the kindly interest he took throughout his life in promoting the cause of literature and arts.

He was a prominent noble-man, the owner of an extensive estate, and a member of the Executive Council of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

Nawab Lutf ud-Dawlah Bahadur was the son of Nawab Shams ul-Mulk Shams ud-Dawlah Muhammad Hafiz ud-Din Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung and the grandson of Amir i Kabir Shams ul-Umara Nawab Sir Khurshid Jah Muhammad Muhi-ud-Din Khan Bahadur Tegh Jang, K.C.I.E., to whom the Princess Husain un-Nisa Begam, the eldest daughter of Asaf Jah V Nawab Afzal ud-Dawlah Bahadur, had been married. It was to her that Nawab Lutf ud-Dawlah's father was born.

In the month of December, 1936, Nawab Lutf ud-Dawlah Bahadur proceeded to Vienna to undergo medical treatment, and while on his way back to Haidarabad, he died on board the Ship 'Viceroy of India' near Adan and was buried in his family grave-yard at Haidarabad.

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- 2. Chand Bibi by Sayyid Ahmad-Ullah Qadri.

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To

Lady Akbar Hydari The Urdu Original of this book is dedicated

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AVANT-PROPOS

De meme que toutes les grandes nations de l'Occident, l'Inde compte, dans les plus belles pages de son Histoire, quelques personnalites feminines qui, par leur caractere et leurs talents, meritent d'etre mieux connues. Noor Jahan, l'epouse de l'empereur Jehangir, qui a ete sans rivale parmi les femmes pour son talent d'administration; Razia Sultana, reine de Delhi, qui a ete remarquable par son esprit politique; Chand Bibi, l'objet de cet ouvrage, Ahalya Bai d'Indore et d'autres encore forment, sans conteste, le plus beau bouquet de la flore indienne.

Chand Bibi, fille d'un roi d'Ahmadnagar, ayant epouse un roi de Bijapour eut, au deces de son mari, a gouverner le royaume durant la minorite de son neveu. De retour ensuite dans son propre pays, elle dut, par suite du *deces* de son frere, assumer la direction du gouvernement du royaume d'Ahmadnagar. De meme que plusieurs reines de France, Chand Bibi se vit, a deux fois, aux prises avec des troubles a

l'interieur de son royaume et des invasions-L'Etat d'Ahmadnagar etant convoite par Akbar le Grand, elle eut a vainere une forte armee sous le commandement des princes Murad et Danyal. Par son heroi'que defense elle contraingnit a la honte le puissant Mogol. Les circonstances tragiques de sa mort ont encore ajoute a sa renommee deja fort belle.

Mr. Sayyid Ahmadullah Qadri, un historien bienconnu, eta juste titre, a Hyderabad (Decan), a entrepris la biographie de cette princesse hindoue qui a fait preuve de qualites toutes si eminentes que Ton ne sait ce qu'il faut admirer le plus en elle, de ses vertus guerrieres ou de sa sagacite politique.

II y a huit ans, Mr. S. A. Qadri a publie en *Ourdou*, le dialecte le plus repandu dans le Decan, le resultat de ses longues et minutieuses recherches sur la vie de cette princesse. Son livre a obtenu un tel succes qu'il nous le donne aujourd'hui en Anglais, sous le precieux patronage de Sir Akbar Hydari, le premier ministre du gouvernement de son H. A. le Nizam, et sous celui de Lady Hydari, qui tous deux ont su

gagner la gratitude de leurs concitoyens par l'aide genereuse qu'ils donnent a tous ceux travaillant a faire mieux connaître leur pays.

En terminant qu'il nous soit permis d'exprimer le regret que nous eprouvons de ne pouvoir donner a cet avant-propos toute l'ampleur que merite l'ouvrage de Mr. S. A. Qadri. Une con naissance imparfaite de la langue anglaise et une cecite qui ne nous permet pas de faire les recherches qu'exigerait une introduction plus complete et plus en rapport avec l'ouvrage de Mr. S. A. Oadri, sont les seules causes de la forievete de cet avant-propos. Aussi avions-nous decline tout d'abord l'offre si aimable que pauteur nous avait d'aite d'une presentation de son livre- Nous ne l'avons acceptee que sur sa gracieuse insistance, et aussi, pourquoi ne pas l'avouer, pour profiter d'une occasion de faire connaitre au public anglais la "SOCIETE DE LHISTOIRE DE L'INDE FRANCAISE".

C'etait, en effet, en notre titre de president de cette societe que l'auteur s'etait adresse a nous et nous lui sommes grandement reconnaissant de sa pensee.

Puisse le grand succes auquel, nous en sommes certain, est appele le livre de Mr. S. A. Qadri contribuer a signaler a un grand nombre d'etudiants Anglo-Indiens une nouvelle et large source d'informations que leur offre lar "SOCIETE DE L'HISTOIRE DE L'INDE FRANCAISE" et en meme temps a enrichir celle-ci de leurs recherches et de leur collaboration.

E. GAUDART,

PONDICHERY, le 28 Septembre 1938.

Translation

Just as the great Western nations, so India, in the most beautiful pages of her history, has a few feminine personalities who, on account of their virtues and talents deserve to be better known. Noor Jahan, the wife of emperor Jehangir, who was a unrivalled among women for her administrative powers; Razia Sultana, queen of Delhi, who was a leader in politics; Chand Bibi, the subject of this work; Ahalya Bai of Indore and others, are really the very flower of Indian womanhood.

Chand Bibi, the daughter of a king of Ahmadnagar having been married to the king of Bijapur had to govern this kingdom on behalf of a nephew of her husband on the death of the latter. Returning to her native place, subsequently she assumed the reins of the government of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar when her brother the Sultan died. As it had fallen to the lot of a few queens of France, Chand Bibi also had to face serious internal troubles as well as invasions from without, not once but twice. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar being coveted by Akbar the Great, she had to resist the strong armies of the Princes Murad and Danyal, and by her heroic defence she put the powerful Moghuls to shame. The circumstances of her tragic death added also to her already great fame.

Mr. Sayyid Ahmadullah Qadri, a deservedly wellknown historian of Hyderabad Deccan, has undertaken to write the biography of this Indian princess who showed such eminent qualities that one cannot say what to ad mire best in her, whether it be her warlike virtues or her political shrewdness. Eight years ago, Mr. S. A. Qadri published in Urdu, the most widely prevalent dialect in the Deccan, the result of his long and minute researches on the life of this princess. His book has met with such a success that he gives it to us to-day in English under the kind patronage of the Rt. Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari, Premier of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and of Lady Hydari, who both have gained the gratitude of their countrymen by the generous help they give to all who work to make their country better known.

In conclusion we beg leave to express the regret we feel not to be able to give this foreword all the length Mr. S. A. Qadri's work really deserves. Indeed, we declined at first Mr. S. A. Qadris kind proposal to write this foreword, and accepted it only on his amiable insistence, and also because—Why not confess it?—This was an excellent means to acquaint the English-educated public of India with the "Societe de L'Histoire de L'Inde Francaise". This is also the inducement the author had in approaching us with his request, and we are thankful to him for his kindly thought.

May the great success which we feel sure awaits his work be a source of inspiration to a large number of scholars to turn their attention to the History of French **India** and enrich it with their researches and contribution.

PREFACE

The Memoirs of Chanel Bibi was published in Urdu some eight years ago. I feel grateful to the public for the kind reception they have given to it. Some copies of it were purchased by libraries all over the country; some were distributed as prizebooks among school boys. Its need was felt even outside India where Messrs. Luzac & Co. were kind enough to arrange its sale, so that copies of the book were soon exhausted.

The task of writing the *Memoirs* was undertaken owing to the kind encouragement given to me by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur, P.C.. D.C.L., LL.D., the President of the Hyderabad Executive Council.

Those young men, who come into direct contact with His Excellency cannot forget the inspiring influence which his personality generally exerts on them. In spite of his multifarious duties, he finds time to give them advice and encouragement. If we take a survey of the intellectual activities of our young men to-day, the nature and the extent of his influence will be easily gauged. The awakening that we find among them to-day is undeniably due to his untiring efforts in the direction of the education of the country. Indeed, if we compare the present period with that which precedes the year 1918, we shall realise to what extent our young men have awakened, due to such noble patronage of His Excellency.

We cannot understand the merits of his efforts unless we scrutinise the limitations under which he has to serve our country. In a country where there is a great lack of group life, where individual interest dominates the national interest, and where its well-wishers have to labour under conditions which are the consequences of its past political history, it is obvious how much energy, tact and skill he has to use, in guiding the affairs of the State. He, undoubtedly, commands our sincere admiration and respect.

Lady Hydari, to whom the original Urdu version of the *Memoirs* had been dedicated, likewise possesses a personality which commands both respect and affection, particularly of the womenfolk of Hyderabad. There are no social activities of women in the State where her influence is not at work. Practically all major activities have been organized under her leadership. Like Sir Akbar, she possesses a generous and kind heart which many a family here has openly acknowledged. A more fitting personality than Lady Hydari's, I cannot find to dedicate the memoirs of a queen whose memory is cherished by millions in the East.

My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Mohammad Hayat Quraishi, M.A., B.L. (Punjab). But for his readiness this book would not have seen the light of day, as he is responsible for having translated it from Urdu into English.

I am especially indebted to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur for his kind permission for reproducing photos of Chand Bibi, Sultan Ali Adil Shah I., and Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II., out of his unique collection of ancient paintings.

I am glad to acknowledge the help rendered by Dr. Viccaji. Dinshaw, and Mr. K. Clement-Jones, M.R.A.S. (London), sometime Tutor to the Prince Salabat Jah Bahadur and Prince Basalat Jah Bahadur.

S. A. QADRI

Osmania University 1 st December, 1938

CHAND BIBI

In the gardens of the blest, where the happy *houris* dwell,
In the palaces of men, where earth's fairest ones are seen,
There is none who can compare in beauty or in grace
With the noble Chand Sultana, Bijapur's beloved Queen.
Though in battle's dreadful turmoil her courage never failed,
In the softer arts of peace she was gentle and serene,
To the feeble tender-hearted, to the needy ever kind,
Was the noble Chand Sultana, Bijapur's beloved Queen.
As the *champak*- flower in fragrance is the sweetest flower that blows,
As the cypress trees in form all other trees excel,
So in disposition tender, in beauty without peer,
Was the gracious Queen whose praise no human tongue can tell.
Even guarded her poor orphan in a weary troubled land.
I, Ibrahim the Second, these feeble lines indite
To the honour of that Princess, the noble Lady Chand.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH. II.

Translation of the Persian Original" by H. F. Silcock, C.S.

CHAPTER I.

The Ancestors of Chand Bibi, The Sultans of Ahmadnagar¹.

Political changes The Bahmani Kingdom, established in the Deccan by the middleofthe 8th century Hijri, was one of the most powerful kingdoms in the Deccan. Its rulers held sway with great pomp and splendour for about a century and a half. By the end of the 9th century the Deccan underwent some political changes which put an end to this dynasty and gave rise to five petty states:

1. The Nizam Shahi Kingdom

in Ahmadnagar .. 891—1042 A.H

2. The Adil Shahi Kingdom

inBijapur .. 895—1097 A.H.

^{1.} The material contained in this chapter has been taken from the following books:—IIaft Iqlim, pp. 71—80. 2. Tabaqat 2-Akbaqat, pp. 437—440. 3. Burhan al-Ma'asir, English translation. 4. Tarikh i-Farishtah, Chapter III, pp 93—118. 5. Tazkirat al-Mulk (Manuscript). 6. Muntakhib al-Lubab, Vol. II1, pp. 140—266. 7. Ma'asir i-Bahimi, Vol. 11, pp. 413—449. 8. Dastur al-Ulama, Persian Supplement, Vol. I. p. 8. 9. Muzdah i-Ahmadnagar, p. 0. 10. History of the Deccan (in Urdu), Vol. I. p. 201. 11. Darbar i-Asaf, Vol. II. p. 120.

- 3. The Imad Shahi Kingdom in Berar .. 895—982 A.H.
- 4. The Barid Shahi Kingdom inBidar .. 896—1018 A.H.
- 5. The Qutub Shahi Kingdom in Golconda .. 924—1098 A.H

These Kings held sovereign power, more or less, for two centuries. Their territory extended from the Vindhya Mountains in the North to the river Kristna in the South and was bounded by the sea on the East and West.

Ahmad Nizamul Mulk was the first among these kings to lay the foundation of his kingdom in Junair. This was followed by declarations of independence by Adil Shah, Imad Shah and Qutub Shah. The kings of Ahmadnagar enjoyed their superiority over the other kings on account of their rich and extensive territory until the battle of Talikota reduced their power. The possessions of Bijanagar towards the South of the Kristna came under the sway of the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi kingdoms. This extension of power gave them an equal status with Ahmadnagar.

Ahmad Nizamul Malik Ahmad Nizamul Mulk was the founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. He was the son of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani III (867-887 A.H.) and the step-brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani III (887-924 A.H.). Historians state that he was brought up by Malik Naib Hasan Nizamul Mulk in his palace. He was consequently regarded by the common folk as the son of Hasan².

2. Amin Ahmad Razi was the cousin of I'tmadudaulah, **Nur** Jehan's father. During the reign of the Emperor Akbar (963-1014 A.H.), he wrote a biography of Muslim Kings and nobles and named it 'Haft Iqlim'. Writing about the affairs of the Deccan Kings the author traces Ahmad Nizamul Mulk's lineage as follows:—

وزعم بعضی آذست که ملك احدبرادر سلطان عمود بود سچه وقت ولادت سلطات عمد و الده اش رابو اسطاحكام نجوم با ديگر وجوه به ملك نائب سيرده بود ـ احدد در حجر تربيت ملك نائب نشو و نماه يا قته - بعد اذآت مردم اوراعلك نائب نسبت دادند ــ و برخی گفته نند كه سلطان و الده احمد دا که آبستن بود، ندانسته به ملك نائب بخشيد و احمد در منزل وی بوجود آمده به يسری ملك نائب مشهور گفت ـ در منزل وی بوجود آمده به يسری ملك نائب مشهور گفت ـ

(Translation) "Some historians state that Malik Ahmad is the brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah. When the moment of his birth approached, Sultan Mahmud Shah as advised by Astrologers, put the mother of Malik Ahmad in the custody of Malik Naib. He was born in the house of Malik Naib and was brought up by him. For this reason the common people associated him with Malik Naib. Others think that Malik Ahmad's mother was pregnant but Sultan Mohammad Shah was not aware of this fact and presented her to Malik Naib and was thus regarded as his son."

Malik Hasan Nizamul Mulk was a well-known minister of the Bahmani Kings.

Ali bin Azizullah Taba Tabai has also given the same narrative in his book *Burhanul Mathir*. This book was written in 1004 A.H., three years after the compilation of *Ilaft Iqlim. Burharml-Mathir* is a history of the Bahmani Kings and the Nizam Shah dynasty. Its author was an inhabitant of Gillan and had come to Ahmadnagar in the days of Bahadur Shah on account Shah-Saheb's presence there. His son Mulla Ali was a famous courtier of Murtaza Nizam Shah.

Azizullah wrote his history in 1004 A.II., and till lately this book was rare. Copies of it can be seen in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Jadu Nath Sarear has acquired a copy of it from the British Museum.

Burhanul Mathir is divided into 3 parts. The first part contains the particulars of the Kings of Gulbarga; the second part is a supplement to the first which deals with Bahmani Kings, who ruled in Bidar. The third part gives the history of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar.

Major King has translated the portion dealing with the Bahmani Kings into English which has been published in the Indian Antiquary. Sir Wolseley Haig has also translated the annals of the Nizam Shahi Kings which are published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1920 A.D.

We give below Sir Wolseley Haig's translation:-

By the grace of God this glorious King's pedigree has been, from his father right up to his great grandson an unbroken chain of Kings. This series begins from Bahman, son of Asfandyar and the members of the great dynasty have ruled as Kings up to Keomurs. When Sultan Mohammad Shah Bahmani's kingdom was nearing destruction, and ill luck stared it in the face, a son named Abdul Muzaffar Sultan Ahmad Bahri Nizam Shall, was born in his house. It was just like the birth of Faridun for the protection of Jamshed's power. The author (of Burhanul-Mathir) came across a pamphlet in the Nizam Shahi Library where at the end, the following lines were written by Burhan Nizam Shah's own hands, 'Sheikh Burhanuddin son of Malik Ahmad Nizamul Mulk son of

After the death of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan he acted for several years as regent of the Bahmani Kingdom. He was awarded the titles of the Majlisa-'Ala, Mansab-e-'Ala and Ashraf Humayun by Mahmud Shah. ³

Malik Naib Khan known as Ashraf Humayun Nizam Shah'. But all that the author gathered from the histories of the Sultans of the Deccan and heard from men of advanced age is as follows—

Some Historians who are closely connected with the court of Ahmad Shah relate that dining the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani, his officers presented to his haram a very beautiful young By the grace of God she became pregnant and after the usual period of nine months she gave birth to a child as if an august star had risen in the sky. The King gave away costly presents on this happy occasion. The Astrologers, after carefully reading the movement of the stars, predicted that the newly born child would be a King and the ruler of nations and the Sultan should send him out of the capital and keep him away from his person. The Sultan took his separation much to heart but he could not avoid this for the welfare of his subjects. Malik Naib was deputed for his care and education, and Queen Bilgis was also sent to Ram Geer Mahor with the prince. Malik Naib, the highest official of the State, made himself busy whole-heartedly for the upbringing of the child. Some of the historians have written that Sultan Mahmud Shah presented a slave girl to Malik Hassan who had already been conceived of the King before she entered the haram of Malik Naib. Malik Naib infomed the King of all this which was connived at by the latter. At length, after completing her period, she gave birth to Prince Ahmad who was the light of Malik Naib's eye and was considered to be the son of Malik Naib.

3. Historians have written about Malik Hassan Nizamul Mulk that he was a Brahman and his ancestors were 'Patvaries' in

Sultan Muhammad Shah had granted a 'Jagir' to Ahmad Nizamul Mulk in Bir⁴ and appointed his father, Hasan Nizamul Mulk, governor of Junair⁵.

In 891 A.H. Malik Hasan Nizamul Mulk sent Ahmad Nizamul Mulk to Junair as his viceroy with one hundred elephants and considerable wealth and provisions. Immediately after his arrival at Junair, Ahmad began to organize the government

Patri (Berar). When Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani attacked Bijapur Malik Hussain and his father were brought as captives. His name was Tima Bhat and his father was known as Bahrev. Tima Bhat was young and promising. The king, taking pity on him, included him among his slaves and named him Hassan. Muhammad Shah son of Ahmad Shah was also young at the time. Hassan and Muhammad Shah became intimate friends. He used to join the Prince ever in the study of his lessons at school. Muhammad Shah called him Hassan Bahri and when he grew up he became known by the same name. After becoming king Muhammad Shah appointed him as a Khushbeg (a man in charge of the king's falcon) and gave him the titles of Hazari, Naqara and Mahi. Afterwards he was given the title of Malik Naib and was declared as a minister of the State.

^{4.} Bir is situated on the North West of Aurangabad (District). Its latitude $27\,^{\circ}$ is 28, $27\,^{o}$ 19, and towards the East is $47 \!\!\!\! \odot 4$, $57\,^{\circ}76'$ • In the beginning this was known as the District of Durgavati. In 1236 A.D. Sultan Muhammad Taghlaq captured it and gave it the name of Ber, which afterwards became known as Bir. At first it was under the sway of Andhra-Chalukiya and Yadu dynasties.

^{5.} Junair is situated in the province of Aurangabad. In ancient times it was the seat of the Satnaya Government—Swaniah -i-Deccan by Mun'im Khan Hamdam.

of his State. In the meantime Zainuddin, a Jagirdar of Chakna, invaded a part of Ahmad 's territory, in order to devastate it. Ahmad appealed to Hasan Nizamul Mulk for help. Hasan directed Amir Malik Wahid⁶ and Fakhrul Mulk Deccani (known as Khwaja Jahan) to render help to Malik Ahmad. Malik Wahid was the commander of the Daulatabad forces and Fakhrul Mulk Deccani was a Jagirdar of Parinda and Sholapur. Both rendered help to Ahmad Nizamul Mulk to their utmost capacity.

Hasan Nizamul Mulk, on account of certain unpleasant events that had taken place, incurred the displeasure of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani. When the Sultan learnt that Hasan was involved in Ahmad's affairs, he wanted to make the most of the occasion. But realizing that he had lost much of his political status, abstained from taking any aggressive step. Soon his thirst for revenge asserted itself in another way.

^{6.} Wahid was a pure Deccani. In the beginning he was employed by Khwaja Mahmul Gawan. After the Khwaja's death he was put in charge of the armoury. Hassan Nizamul Mulk afterwards appointed him the Commander-in-Chief of the Daulatabad forces.

Qawamul Mulk Saghir, the ruler of Rajmundry, thought of capturing Warangal. When the Sultan heard this, he hastened personally to the spot along with Hasan to meet Qawamul Mulk. Qawamul Mulk, finding himself unable to encounter the Sultan's forces, fled towards Raj mundry before the Sultan 's arrival at Warangal. In the meantime some of Hasan's adversaries, being incited by the Sultan, made up their minds to assassinate him. When the news reached Hasan, he became anxious and left for Bidar and captured the Sultan's Treasury. The Sultan secretly deputed Dilpasand Khan the ruler of Bidar, to kill Hasan; he succeeded in assassinating Hasan, severed his head and despatched it to the king at Warangal.

This heart-rending event caused a great sensation in the whole territory with the result that some chiefs began open hostility. Ahmad Nizamul Mulk, taking advantage of the occasion, captured all the territory in Konkan by the middle of 891 A.H. The Sultan sent numerous expeditions against him but they always resulted in a crushing defeat for the Sultan's forces. Consequently Ahmad Nizamul Mulk was successful in

establishing an independent kingdom of his own. His independence was soon recognised by the neighbouring rebel chiefs. By the middle of 900 A.H. he founded a city and naming it Ahmadnagar, made it his capital instead of Junair.

After ascending the throne of Ahmadnagar, Ahmad Nizamul Mulk made several raids on Daulatabad, till in 900 A.H., when, defeating Malik Ashraf, he captured Daulatabad.

The fall of Daulatabad added much to the strength of Ahmad Nizamul Mulk and brought about a further extension of his territory. In 913 A.H., Berar's Western, and Maharashtra's Eastern parts came under his sway and the boundaries of his kingdom extended in Konkan right up to the sea shore.

In 914 A.H. Ahmad Nizamul Mulk died after twenty years' reign. Thirteen kings of his dynasty reigned one after the other for about a century and a half.

Burhan Malik Ahmad was succeeded by his son Burhan Nizam Shah (914-961 A.H.). Among the kings of the Deccan, this monarch holds a unique position. According to Firishta, the historian, few kings of the Deccan ever cherished such noble aspirations as he did. During his reign Ahmadnagar witnessed rapid progress economic, political, and moral; and consequently became a seat of learning.

In 937 A.H. Burhan met Sultan Bahadur Shah (922-943 A.H.) the ruler of Gujrat and effected an alliance between the two kingdoms, Bahadur Shah exhibited a great regard for him and honoured him with the title of Nizam Shah which was afterwards adopted and retained by his family which came to be known as 'Nizam Shahi'.

Firishta writes that Sultan Bahadur Shah, at the time of their meeting, had tied his belt round Burhan's waist with his own hands and presented him his sword and dagger. During Burhan's reign, Shah Tahir, the well-known sage of the Ismailiya sect, came to Ahmadnagar from Bijapur.

Burhan died in 961 A.H. and left six sons, namely Hussain, Abdul Qadir, Shah Ali, Shah Haider, Muhammad Baqir and Khuda Banda.

Among them Sultan Hussain, Nizam Shah and Abdul Qadir were born of Bibi Amina, Burhan's most favourite wife. Bibi Maryam, the daughter of Yusuf Adil Shah (859-916 A.H.), gave birth to Shah Ali 916-941 A.H. Shah Haider was the son in-law of Khwaja Jahan, the ruler of Parinda.

Sultan Hussain Nizam Shah se-Sultan Hussain Nizam Shah I c u r e d the throne or Ahmadnagar in 961 A.H. with the help of the poor and the He fought many a battle with a view to extending his territory. A great conflict ensued between him and the Adil Shahi kings for the possession of Kalyan and Shorapur. To settle this affair he had to fight several battles. In 968 and 970 A.H. Adil Shah twice devastated Ahmadnagar with the help of Raja Ram Raj (937-972 A.H.), the ruler of Bijanagar. Shortly after these struggles a great battle was fought at Talikota in 972 A.H. which is of special importance in the history of the Deccan. The origin of this battle can be traced to the fact that a compromise was effected between Sultan Hussain Nizam Shah and Adil Shah which resulted in a further friendly relation between the four ruling

Icings, namely, Hussain Nizam Shah, Ali Adil Shah, Ibrahim Qutub Shah, and Ali Barid, who made a combined attack on Bijanagar. This was the great battle of Talikota in which successwas achieved by the Muslim Kings. Ram Raj was killed and Bijanagar was devastated.

Sultan Hussain Shah was a very powerful monarch of the Nizam Shahi dynasty. He died in 972 A.H. The line in Persian below indicates the date of his death:—

(Translation) "The sun of the Deecan has set' - 972 A-H."

Murtaza After the death of Hussain Nizam Shah, his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, ascended the throne. Murtaza Nizam Shah, being too young at the time to manage the affairs of the State, his mother Khunza Humayun represented him for a considerable time. Rafiuddin Shirazi⁷ and

^{7.} Rafiuddin Shirazi lived at Shiraz. In 967 A.H. he migrated to India, and Sultan Ali Adil Shah gave him the appointment of Khan Salar. He took part in the battle of Talikota in 971 A.H. During the feign of Ibrahim Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur, he became the tutor of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. By the end of 1005 A.H., he went to Ahmadnagar as an ambassador of Ibrahim

Firishta state that she was a lady of powerful intellect, and statesmanship and possessed wonderful administrative capacity.

In 977 A.H. Murtaza Nizam Shah impri soned his mother and ascended the throne. He occupies a special place in the History of the Deccan Kings. In 982 A.H., putting an end to the Imad Shahi dynasty, he annexed Berar to his own territory. His son, Miran Husain Nizam Shah married Khudija Sultana, the sister of Ibrahim Qutub Shah.

Excessive sexual indulgence made Murtaza Nizam Shah a nervous wreck. His son, taking advantage of his father's weakness, imprisoned him in the bath and captured the throne. This unfilial

Adil Shah and remained there for about 14 months. On his return he was appointed as Superintendent of the Mint. In 1017 A.H. he began writing his book the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* and completed it after three years' hard labour in 1020 A.H.

This book is divided into 9 chapters. The first chapter contains the particulars of the Bahmani Kings and the remaining eight deal with the affairs of Adil Shahi Kings and end with the raid of Prince Parwez on Asir Garh.

Major King has translated the preliminary chapter about the Bahmani Kings of *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* along with *Burlian-ul-Mathit* and these have been published in the *Indian Antiquary*.

action of his shocked Murtaza Nizam Shah so much that he could not survive long and died within one year, in 996 A.H.

Miran The wheel of Fate continued to re-

Shah II volve. Miran Hussain Nizam Shah, according to Firishta reigned for six months. Some historians state that the last three months of his life were spent in prison; he reigned for nine months and three days and was killed by Mirza Khan, his own minister in 997 A.H.

Ismail Ismail Nizam Shah took the throne Nizam a after Miran Hussain with the help of some nobles of the Court. Ismail Nizam Shah was the younger son of Burhan Nizam Shah II⁸. (999-1003 A.H.) and was the grandson of Hussain Nizam Shah. Burhan Nizam Shah was actually living at the time and consequently Ismail had no claims to the throne. Burhan Nizam Shah was one of the nobles of Akbar when Ismail became King.

^{8.} Burhan Nizam Shah was the younger brother of Murtaza Nizam Shah. During the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah he twice made rebellious attempts to get the throne. But each time he failed to achieve his object. Murtaza Nizam Shah had imprisoned him in the fort of Lhakar. He however, escaped from the fort and took refuge with Emperor Akbar, who granted him a Jagir.

When Burhan learnt that his son had ascended the throne he sought permission from Akbar to go to the Deccan and take the throne to which he was the real claimant. Akbar permitted Burhan on the condition that in case he succeeded, he should give Berar to his Royal Master. For this Akbar sent four of his ambassadors to Burhanpur, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda. One of them was the famous poet Faizi who visited the court of Raja Ali Khan (974-1005 A.H.) at Burhanpur. Khwaja Aminuddin Ahmadnagri arrived at Ahmadnagar, Mir Mohammad Mashhadi at Bijapur and Masood at All of them jointly supported the cause Gulburga. of Burhan in order to have him recognised as king of Ahmadnagar.

Burhan Nizam Shah II. Reaching Ahmadnagar, Burhan defeated his son Ismail and captured the city in 996 A.H. In 1003 A.H. he fought a battle against Ibrahim Adil Shah (988-1037 A.H.) but it resulted in a crushing defeat for him. This shock was so severe that it proved fatal. Burhan, before his death, left a will nominating his elder son Ibrahim as his successor.

Ibrahim Still there was no peace in Ahmad-Nizam Shah nagar when Nizam Shah took

up the reins of the kingdom. On the proclamation of Ibrahim as King, a great conflict began between the supporters of Ismail and Ibrahim, Consequently the kingdom suffered a considerable loss and its political greatness began to decline. In the meantime Adil Shah sent his ambassador Mir Safvi to Ahmadnagar, but the treatment meted out to him was against his dignity. This led to the displeasure of Ibrahim Adil Shah and he marched towards Ahmadnagar with all preparations for a great battle. During this conflict Ibrahim Nizam Shah was killed by a soldier.

Ahmad After Ibrahim's murder, anarchy Nizam Shah prevailed in Ahmadnagar and all the nobles rebelled one after the other, each striving to become king. But at this moment Ikhlas Khan Habshi⁹, with dauntless courage, helped Bahadur Nizam Shah, the son of Ibrahim Nizam Shah to get the throne. Chand Bibi favoured Bahadur Nizam Shah.

^{9.} He was one of the prominent nobles of Ahmadnagar, and attained the ministership in these days of anarchy.

The Prince was at the time, hardly year and a half old. The nobles, more especially Mian Manju, the minister, did not completely recognise him as king on the pretext that the kingdom required a man able to understand the affairs of the State endowed with administrative capacity and of royal blood. This led to the declaration of a stranger Ahmad, son of Shah Tahir, as king who had no connexion with the Nizam Shahi dynasty. The result was that men who favoured Bahadur Nizam Shah took up arms against Mian Manju. Chand Bibi was struggling hard for Bahadur Nizam Shah as he was her grandson. On account of these discords Ahmadnagar was unsafe, becoming a centre of In the end Chand Bibi was successful bloodshed and after a great endeavour, secured the throne for Bahadur Nizam Shah who staved within the fort all the time.

Bahadur The nobles who never liked to see
Bahadur Nizam Shah as king, besieged the fort. These dissensions resulted in a
wide-spread conflict all over India most particularly
in the Deccan. On this occasion Sultan Ibrahitn
Adil Shah, on behalf of Chand Bibi, sent Rafiuddin Shirazi to Ahmadnagar to restore peace. But

his arrival proved to be of no avail and the squabbles continued as before. Mian Manju, betraying his party, invited Prince Murad to Ahmadnagar. Akbar also issued a 'Firman' to the Prince for subjugating the Deccan. The Prince with 30,000 Mughal soldiers marched towards Ahmadnagar. Bahadur Shah and Chand Bibi were surrounded. The siege continued for a long time. After great struggle and resistance, Chand Bibi was compelled to surrender the territory of Berar to the Prince and a compromise was effected.

After the death of Prince Murad, in 1007 A.H., Akbar deputed Prince Danyal on the Deccan expedition. Danyal invaded Ahmadnagar for the second time by the end of 1008 A.H. This resulted in a victory for the Mughals and the fort came under their sway.

In this struggle, Chand Bibi resisted the Mughal attack on the fort with such courage that they found themselves unable to renew it. On the first of Moharram 1009 A.H., however, when the fort was captured, she committed suicide.

Murtaza After the death of Chand Bibi, Nizam Shah I I.

though the Nizam shahi kingdom at Ahmadnagar had ended, but still in 1009 A.H., the nobles unanimously enthroned Murtaza Nizam Shah II in the fort of Parinda. This prince was the son of Shah Ali, son of Burhan Nizam Shah I.

During his reign the disruption of the country continued as before, for the nobles had differences as usual. Malik Amber and Raju Deccani were the two dignitaries of his reign. Malik Amber was the ruler of the territory which extended from Ahmadnagar along the North of Telingana, Berar and Daulatabad up to the coast of Chaul. The possessions of Raju Deccani extended from the North of Daulatabad up to Gujarat. These two nobles, though independent in their own territories yet recognised Murtaza Nizam Shah as their king.

Malik Amber and Raju Deccani were always hostile to each other and had frequent altercations. In the beginning Raju Deccani had some victories over Malik Amber. But when Malik Amber sought the help of Khan-i-Khanan, Raju Deccani's power suffered decline. After this Malik Amber raided Parinda, the capital of Murtaza Nizam Shah. But when Ali Adil Shah threatened him, he not only apologized to Murtaza Nizam Shah but also became his supporter.

In 1016 A.H., Murtaza Nizam Shah left Parinda and retired to his own capital Junair. Up to this time Malik Amber was the Chief Minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah.

Malik Amber was one of the most famous and popular ministers of the Deccan. He was the only minister of high calibre since Mahmud Gawan's time. He performed the most important duties of the ministry in an excellent manner. During his ministry the kings of Bijapur and Golconda almost recognised the superiority of Nizam Shahi kings, and a considerable portion of Adil Shah's territory was annexed to the Nizam Shahi dominions, as a result, of which he was able to baffle even the Mughal army.

In 1035 A.H., Malik Amber died and left two sons, Fateh Khan and Changez Khan.

Burhan After the death of Malik Amber, Nizam Shah III. Fateh Khan became Prime Minister. But he had not the administrative capacity of his father to maintain his influence over the nobles and the king. During the period of his ministry, Burhan Nizam Shah, son of Murtaza Nizam Shah reached the age of maturity. On one occasion Burhan Nizam Shah imprisoned Fateh Khan and took all the affairs of the State in his own hands and from this time the power of the ministers in Ahmadnagar came to an end.

History is silent as regards the events that took place after the death of Murtaza Nizam Shah II and the accession of Burhan Nizam Shah III.

During the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, the Adil Shahi kings reasserted their power. This made the king apprehend trouble. He released Fateh Khan and reinstated him for the second time as his Prime Minister. But Fateh Khan, instead of helping the king, had him assassinated.

Hussain After Burhan III, his son Hussain Nizam Shah II. Nizam Shah became king; but after two years' reign was taken captive by king Shah Jahan and imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior.

Murtaza According to historians the capture Nizam Shah III.0f Hussam Nizam Shah marks the end of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. But in 1043 A.H., Shahji Mahratta took up the cause of another man of the same dynasty by the name of Murtaza Nizam Shah in the fort of Shah Garh. He was placed on the throne and ruled for three years. In 1046 A.H., he was taken prisoner and sent to Prince Aurangzeb at Daulatabad. He was the last ruler of the Nizam Shahi Dynasty. After him the name of the Nizam Shahi Kings was permanently effaced from history.

GENEALOGY OF THE NIZAM SHAHI DYNASTY

(1) Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk **891-914.** A.H.

(2)Burhan Nizam Shah I. 1009-1035. A.H.

Abdul Qadin. Shah Ali. Shah Haidar. Md. Baqir. Khuda Banda.

(3) Husain Nizam Shah 1. 961-972. A.H.

- (11) Murtaza Nizam Shah. II. 914-961. A.H.
- (12) Burhan Nizam Shah. 111. 1035-1040. A.H.
- (13) Husain Nizam Shah. II. 1040-1042. A.H.

(4) Murtaza (7) Burhan Khudija Bibi Shah Mansur Bibi Jamal Nizam Shah.I. Nizam Shah. II. 972-996. A.H. 999-1003. A.H.

Chand Bibi shah qasim Aqa Bibi

- (5) Miran Husain Nizam Shah. 996-997. A.H.
 - (6) Ismail Nizam Shah
 997-999. A.H.
- (8) Ibra**him N**izam Shah 1003-1003. A H
- (10) Bahadur Nizam Shah 1004-1009, A.H.

CHAPTER II.

Chand Bibi's Maternal Ancestors.

Khunza Humayun was the mother of Chand Bibi. She was a descendant of Amir Qara Mohammad¹⁰, the leader of the family of Qaraquvinlu. Long before the advent of Amir Timur (771-807 A.H.), two families of Turkumans had settled in Arminia along the river Dan. Their flags had the insignia of black and white rams. The black rams represented the tribe of Qaraquvinlu and the white Aq Quvinlu.

The Qaraquvinlu was more powerful and influential of the two. Its leader Qara Mohammad, covenanting with King Hussain Jalair (777-784 A.H.), established a permanent kingdom of his own in Arminia and Azarbaijan, where his descendants ruled up to 874 A.H.

^{10.} The detailed accounts of this dynasty have been taken from the following books:—Manuscript of *History of Qutub Shahi;* the *Mathir-i-Bahirm* Volume I. II, pp. 65; the *Habibus-Siyar* Volume III, pp. 120; the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* Volume I, pp. 130.

Amir Timur captured all the territory of Amir Qara Yusuf (790-823 A.H.), who escaped and found refuge in Egypt. In 807 A.H., Timur died and Qara Yusuf returned to his kingdom. After this he conquered Qazvin, Hamdan and Isfahan, and in 813 A.H., and killing Sultan Ahmad Jalair, annexed Baghdad.

After the demise of Amir Qara Yusuf in 623 A.H., his son Mirza Sikander ascended the throne and ruled peacefully for 18 years.

Jahan Shah, the younger son of Mirza Sikander, succeeded his father with the help of Shah Rukh to whom he remained loyal and obedient all his life. In 850 A.H., when Shah Rukh died he declared his independence.

Immediately after the death of Shah Rukh, disputes began between his descendants and Jahan Shah for the kingdom. When Mirza Mohammad Baber died in 861 A.H., Jahan Shah became ruler of Harat, and all the territory from Khurasan to Azarbaijan came under his power.

This dynasty had hardly ruled in Baghdad for a century when another Tartar family of Aq. Quvinlu began to assert its power, and ultimately defeating Qaraquvinlu, captured the whole of their territory. The princes of that family fled for their lives. Some of them migrated to India, among whom were Sultan Quli Qutubul Mulk, the founder of the Qutub Shahi Kingdom, and Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan 's father Beram Khan, Jahan Shah's grandson Mirza Khawajgi.

Mian Jeo, son of Mirza Khawajgi sailed to Dabul with his family. Reaching Ahmadnagar he obtained access to the Court of Nizam Shah and gave his daughter Khunza Humayun in marriage to Sultan Hussain Nizam Shah. Khunza Humayun gave birth to Chand Bibi.

Firishta states that Khunza Humayun was the daughter of Mian Jeo, who was the son of Mirza Khawajgi the grandson of Jahan Shah Qaraquvinlu, the king of Azarbaijan.

و ایر خونزه هما یون دختر میان جوبن خواجکی پسر زا دهٔ جها ن شاه قرا قونیلو پادشاهِ آذر با پیجان است ـ (تاریخ برعته مقاله سرم سنعه ۱۳)

GENEALOGY OF CHAND BIBL

Giving both the Paternal and Maternal ancestors

Kings of Azarbaijan

Qara Yusuf

Jahan Shah Mirza Sikandar

Mirza Yusuf Mirza Alwand

Nizam Shahi Kings

_Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk Mirza Khawajgi Khudija Begum Wife of Pir Quit

Burhan Nizam Shah Main Jeo Ovais Quli

Sultan Quli Qutub Shah, SultaneQuti Qutub Shahi, Founderking Qwyub Shahi

Husain Nizam Shah. I. (Married) Khunza Humayun kingdom

CHAND BIBI

Wife of Sultan Ali Adil Shah I. ruler of Bijapur

Khudija Bibi

Wife of Mir Jamaluddin Anju, Known as Azduddaulah, compiler of 'Farhang-e-Jahangiri

CHAPTER III.

Khunza Humayun - Mother of Chanel Bibi, A famous Queen of Ahmadnagar.

Khunza Humayun was both brave and wise. She is considered to be the first among the women of the Deccan reputed for their courage and valour. In her administrative capacity and tact, she surpassed most of her comtemporaries.

Sultan Husain Nizam Shah died in 972 A. H., and was succeeded by Murtazia Nizam Shah. As Murtaza Nizam Shah was a minor at the time, Khunza Humayun acted as regent for him. She appointed Amir Mulla Inayatullah as her minister. Mulla Inayatullah and Qasim Beg, a noble of considerable influence, who was also her counsellor, used to attend on her daily in the palace when the Queen, after consulting them from behind the *purda*, used to issue orders.

The Queen had two brothers, namely, Ainul Mulk and Taj Khan. She also had a eunuch E'tibar Khan to whom she confided every secret and always trusted him.

This lady governed Ahmadnagar as an independent ruler. Her reign has a special importance in the History of Ahmadnagar. Her reforms, her administrative methods, and her love for her subjects served as a model to other kings. The way that she ruled over her kingdom, indicates the power of her intellect, tact and sagacity.

Many a time during her reign, Ahmadnagar had been a scene of battles. The events in which she is said to have actually participated, are given below: —

In 973 A.H., Sultan Ali Adil Shah made up his mind to conquer Nalgonda and Tarnamal. This territory was under the sway of Yankattadari who sought the help of Khunza Humayun. It was due to her aid that Ali Adil Shah could not attack and take his territory.

The same year, AliAdil Shah, in conjunction with Khunza Humayun, invaded Berar. But Taffal Khan, the ruler of Berar, pacified Adil Shah by offering him presents. Ali Adil Shah, with the approval of Khunza Humayun, raised the siege.

When Nizam Shah's army was returning to Ahmadnagar, Adil Shah's men looted all the belongings of Nizam Shah. This made Nizam Shah's army attack Adil Shah's men, but by the intervention of certain wellwishers the dispute was settled.

In 974 A.H., Ali Adil Shah decided to advance against Ibrahim Qutub Shah, which fact be-wildered Qutub Shah in the extreme. He humbly submitted an application to Khunza Humayun which was duly accepted. Ibrahim Qutub Shah, in the company of Raja Yaltaraj, was awaiting the arrival of Nizam Shah at the River Kristna. At this moment, the counsellors of Khunza Humayun advised her to demand two lakhs of "huns" as war compensation. When Yaltaraj heard this, he was very much upset. Ibrahim Qutub Shah tried his level best to dissuade Khunza Humayun and Murtaza

Shah from taking this step, but it was without any effect. A conflict was imminent. Qutub Shah and Yaltaraj returned to their territories of their own accord. By this time Adil Shah had also arrived. Finding Nizam Shah alone, he barred his way. Instead of fighting with Khunza Humayun and Adil Shah, he ransacked the territories of Kowilconda and Gunpoor. But the result was not up to his expectations and he was repulsed.

In 975 A.H., Kishwar Khan¹¹, the most favoured noble of Ali Adil Shah, conspiring with the commanders of the fort, captured Kandala. When Khunza Humayun heard this, she despatched some forces to punish him. Her forces were however defeated; but the struggle to get back this territory continued.

He was killed by some friend of Mustafa Khan in 988 A.H.

^{11.} Kishwar Khan was one of the great nobles of Bijapur. In 971 A.H., when some tension had crept in between Adil **Shah and** Ram Raj, he won the confidence of the king. Due to his advice and opinion, Chand Bibi 's marriage was arranged with Ali Adil Shah. He also took part in the great battle of Talikota where he **had** performed some deeds of valour. In 973 A.H., when Ali Adil Shah thought of strengthening the walls of Bijapur, he was deputed for this work. In a short period of three years he got the walls of the fort and other important building's therein; constructed. During the same period Ali Adil Shah sent him for the conquest of Nalgonda and Taranamal. Before his arrival, Nizam 'Shah and Qutub Shah had 'already sent aid, this led to his return. In 975 A.H., he was awarded the title of Asad Khan.

At this time some of the nobles made a plot to incite Murtaza Nizam Shah to put up a fight against his own mother Khunza Humayun. Consequently, in 976 A.H., Murtaza Nizam Shah attempted to capture his mother but he miserably failed. Khunza Humayun did not take this incident seriously.

At the same time Kishwar Khan had revolted, this disturbed Khunza Humayun very much. In 977 A.H., in conjunction with Murtaza Nizam Shah, she advanced to meet the enemy. But her son treacherously arrested her and kept her in prison till death.

Khunza loved Murtaza Nizam Shah very much; had she any ambition for the throne, she could have easily deprived Murtaza of it.

This lady possessed extraordinary administrative capacity. She was a woman of strong determination, decision, and thoughtfulness. She had four issues, namely Sultan Murtaza Nizam Shah, Burhan Nizam Shah, Chand Bibi known as Chand Sultana wife of Sultan Ali Adil Shah, and Khudija Bibi, wife of Mir Jamaluddin Anju.

CHAPTER IV.

The Birth of Chand Bibi.

Historians are not definite about the date of birth and childhood of Chand Bibi.

Tarikh-i-Shahabi 12 states only this month that at the time of her death she was about fifty years of age. This gives the year of her birth as 95 7 A.H.

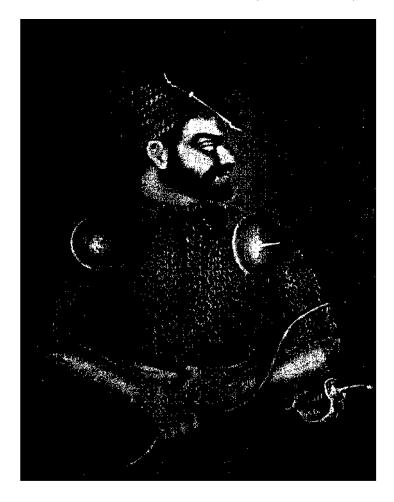
^{12.} This book is written by Qazi Shahabuddin, the grandson of Qazi Abdul Ghani of Ahmadnagar and was compiled in the 12th century Hijra.

CHAPTER V

The Marriage of Chand Bibi.

Chand Bibi was married to Sultan Ali Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur in 971 A.H. The grounds on which this matrimonial alliance was effected are described by Firishta the historian, and Rafiuddin Shirazi. Sholapur and Kalyan had become objects of dispute between the kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Sultan Ali Adil Shah (968-970 A.H.) invaded Ahmadnagar twice and utterly defeated Sultan Hussain Nizam Shah. Raj, the Rajah of Bijanagar, also took part in these campaigns with the king of Bijapur. This devastation reduced Ahmadnagar to disorder and ruin. Taking advantage of the occasion, Ram Raj strengthened his power. The boundaries of Bijanagar were also extended. The kings of the Deccan anticipated trouble from this unusual and unexpected extension of territory. Ram Raj was fully aware of the strength as also of the discord prevailing between these kings; he was convinced that they could not

SULTAN ALI ADIL SHAH I. (9G5—988 A.H.)



from the original in the collection of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur

withstand his attack. He was puffed up with power and pride and was not afraid of these kings. It was customary for the ambassadors of the kings of the Deccan and Bijanagar to exchange visits. When Ram Raj became powerful he stopped sending his ambassadors to the Deccan and even treated the visitors from the Deccan with scant respect. The ways of Ram Raj shocked Ali Adil Shah. His sincerity and love for Ram Raj turned into bitter hatred and jealousy. He determined to fight against Ram Raj. But it was not a child's play to face such a powerful Rajah as Ram Raj. To get out of this difficulty, Ali Adil Shah entered into alliance with Hussain Nizam Shah and appointed Kishwar Khan and Abu Turab Khan his ministers, both of whom were reputed for their wisdom and administrative capacity. The first step taken in this direction was the despatch of messengers to Golconda to establish friendly relations with Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah, who had already developed grudge against Ram Sultan Ibrahim sent his Prime Minister, Mustafa Khan Ardastani¹³ to strengthen the newly

^{13.} He was a Persian by origin and his lull name was Say yid Kamaluddin Hassan. For certain reasons he emigrated

created alliances. When Ali Adil Shah showed his determination to stand against Ram Raj, Mustafa Khan left for Ahmadnagar and Hussain Nizam Shah was also informed of the matter. Hussain Nizam Shah who was feeling jealous of Ram Raj, decided

to India and sought the services of Qutub Shahi kings in the Deccan. In a short time he was raised to the status of a Minister. The history of the Deccan is full of valiant deeds he performed during this period. In 967 A.H., he went to Ahmadnagar in company of Qutub Shah to help Ali Adil Shah. At this place he represented Qutub Shah many a time in his visits to Ram Raj and Ali Adil Shah. During this compaign Ram Raj was staying in Ahmadnagar for the aid of Ali Adil Shah. In 970 A.H. (probably), when the Naik Waids revolted in Golconda, the king deputed Mustafa Khan to suppress the rebels. He restored order with considerable tact so that the king was much pleased. In 967 A.H., (A.D. 1557), he got the city wall and parapet of the fort of Golconda constructed under his own supervision for Rs. 1,00,000. In Golconda there exists an inscription in his name even now. In 971 A.H., by the orders of Ali Adil Shah and as an ambassador of Ibrahim Qutub 'Shah, he came to Ahmadnagar and brought about reconciliation between Ali Adil Shah and Hussain Nizam Shah. He also took active part in settling the marriage of Chand Bibi. After the battle of Talikota, Qutub Shah gave him the keys of some forts of Bijapur which were passed on by him to Kishwar Khan (ally of Bijapur) without sounding the disposition of Ibrahim. Ibrahim did not take any notice of this. Mustafa had also strained relations with the king. At this moment, he asked the permission of the king to go to Mecca which was at once granted. Instead of going to Mecca he made straight for Gulbarga. When he arrived at Gulbarga he had so much wealth and provisions that he had to employ 8,000 horse and 12,000 foot to carry them. Ali Adil Shah employed him by giving 20,000 horsemen. He owned 180 ships in the Arabian Sea from Arabia to Bengal. He was on friendly terms with Shah Tamasp Safvi, ruler of Iran, and Sultan 'Suleiman of Rum and Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, Emperor of India. He exchanged presents with them and often received robes of honour. Some of the particulars of his life have been included in this book. In 988 A.H., incited by Kishwar Khan, Amin Khan killed him in Bankapur.

to help Adil Shah. Mustafa Khan was a statesman, he consulted Qasim Beg and Mula Inayat Qazi who expressed their opinion that in order to strengthen the newly established relations, Sultan Hussain Nizam Shah be prevailed upon to give the hand of his daughter, Chand Bibi, to Ali Adil Shah, and Ali Adil Shah should, in return, give Hadia Sultana, his sister in marriage to Murtaza Nizam Shah son of Hussain. These matrimonial alliances were designed to establish mutual affinity between the parties and to avoid the possibility of future disharmony.

This plan was put before Hussain Shah who approved of it. Mustafa Khan agreed that Sholapur, the centre of contention be given as a dowry of Chand Bibi and be ceded to Bijapur. Hussain Nizam Shah gave his assent to all these terms. Accordingly, Mustafa Khan and Mulla Inayatulah Qazi came to Bijapur and informed Ali Adil Shah of this and Ali Adil Shah also agreed. Both sides then got busy to celebrate the marriage with pomp and splendour. Both the marriages were celebrated on the same date and Chand Bibi was sent to Bijapur, and Hadia Sultana to Ahmadnagar. On this occasion both the cities were profusely decorated.

Ibrahim Zubairi has given a detailed account of the arrangements made on this happy occasion in his book Basatin-us-Salatin (Persian), which is given below:—

یس هر دو طرف درتهیهٔ مواد و اسباب عیش و طرب درآمدند و بیك تاریخ آرایش بیجاپورواحمد نگرو آئین بندی هر دو دارالسلطنت بو قوع آ مد ـ درو دبواروكوچه وبازارهر دوشهر آرايش مينويافت وهر صغير وكبير وبرنا ويبر اينجاوآنجا بعيش وطربكر ائيده عرايس مدعيات دركنار آرزوها بافتند قفل إزكنجينها و بند ا زخزانها برداشته از زروگوهر و خلعت و جوهر وقف عمام گردانیدند در هر کوچه و بازار طنطنهٔ شادی وغلغلة نشاط وخوشحالي تاكنيد اعلا رسانيدند رقاصان ناهید صدا در هرحا و هر مکان به حلوم در آمده بآواز د لربا زهره را از سقف سها بر بساط ثری می آور دندو مطربان خوش آواز در هر نشيمن داد سحر سازي داده آب ازجریان ومرغ از طیران بازمی داشتند دربزم هائے خاص ومحفل ہائے عالی در رنزی و جوہر نخشی که بی در یغ می شد و بر هر کدام از خواص و عوام که نثارها می رفت بکدام بیان شرح توان دادکه قلم از

تحریر آرا یش آن محفلها عاجز و زبان از تقریر آن زر پاشی و جو هر بخشی ها قاصر چون ایام عیش و نشاط متهادی شد مدت سه ماه در جشن هائی شادی و مراسم طرب سازی انقضایافت هر یك آن دُ ر مكنون دُ رج مفتری عفت و عصمت را در حجله نازان دو نوشاه تخت بختیاری فرستادند در ق التاج شاهی و شهریاد سے اختر بر ج بختوری و بختیاری چاند بی بی سلطان دار السر و ربیجا پور ر ابقدوم میمنت لز و م خود منور ساخت و نیز ا و ج مهتری و برگواری کوهر در ج برتری و کامگاری بی بی هدیه سلطان به طلعت جهان ا فروز خویش ساخت احمد نگر دا نور انی کردانید. (بساطین السلاطین مفحه ۱۳)

(Translation) 'Both parties made elaborate arrangements to celebrate the marriages. The capitals of both the kingdoms were illuminated on the same date. All the bazars and streets were decorated. All the citizens, young and old, men and children, entered into life of gaiety and amusement. Alms were profusely distributed. Rich and The streets poor alike were awarded robes of honour. were full of dancers and singers and their melodious voices gave a thrill of happiness to all those around. Zahra was particularly conspicuous for her lovely and enchanting voice. In fact all the citizens were given wealth and gold beyond estimation so as to enhance the splendour of the occasion. These festivities went on for full three months. The jewel of the king's crown, the star of the kingdom, Chand Sultana arrived at Bijapur, and the gem of splendour Bibi Khudija Sultana, illuminated Ahmadnagar with her presence

CHAPTER VI.

The Death of Sultan Ali Adil Shah¹⁴.

Sultan Ali Adil Shah was the fifth ruler of the kingdom of Bijapur. After the death of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah he ascended the throne in 965 A.H., and in 988 A.H., was killed by a Baridi slave. A detailed account of his life is given by the historian Firishta and Mulla Rafiuddin Shirazi; of the kings of Bijapur he was reputed for justice and integrity. During his reign Bijapur reached the height of its glory and became the centre of civilization. On the death of Ali Adil Shah, Ibrahim Adil Shah, the son of his brother Tahmasp, took up the reins of the kingdom in 988 A.H., at the age of 9. His reign has been considered to be the golden period of Deccan History.

^{14.} For reference see *Tarikh-i-Fvrishta*, Chapter III, Section II, page 37, 49; *Tarikh Basatin-us-Salatin* by Ibrahim Zubairi, *Tarikh waqiat-e-Bijapur*, Volume I, pp. 97, 161.

CHAPTER VII.

Chand Bibi and the Administration of Bijapur.

History is silent as regards the particulars of the life of Chand Bibi, which she passed in Bijapur during the reign of Ali Adil Shah. Chand Bibi appears for the first time in connexion with the affairs of the state when Ibrahim Adil Shah became king. From that time her name is prominent in the history of Bijapur. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah, being only a lad of nine, was brought up by Chand Bibi till he reached the age of discretion.

At the time of death of Ali Adil Shah and the accession of Ibrahim to the throne, the nobles had established their domination in Bijapur. The author of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk has given a detailed account of happenings in this kingdom. On one occasion he writes, "When Kamaluddin Deccani was appointed Viceroy, the king held his Darbar normally on Wednesdays and Fridays and received presents from the nobles of the kingdom on those days. On other days orders were issued by the

Viceroy, who had given high posts to his own men, which included even the post of the commander of the fort of Bijapur. Having thus secured a control over the kingdom he tried to place the royal treasury at his own disposal. An order was passed that the salaries of servants of the palace be disbursed only through him".

When Chand Bibi noticed the mismanagement of the state and the increasing power of the nobles, she feared that the kingdom would pass into the hands of the nobles. She made up her mind to crush their power. As a first step in this direction she sent a message to Kamil Khan Deccani that he was not to issue further ordinances, as the king would do that himself when coming of age. result was against her expectation. Kamil Khan, taking it ill, promulgated certain new rules and orders. This aroused the anger of Chand Bibi and she made herself busy in devising secret plans to crush Kamil Khan. Chand Bibi consulted Kishwar Khan who was the most powerful of the nobles, and laid bare all facts before him. This made him so angry that he, killed Kamil Khan when an opportunity occurred.



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Chand Bibi, after doing away with Kamil Khan, deputed Afzal Khan Shirazi to act as a regent for the king. During his period of regency the kings of Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bijanagar led campaigns against the State of Bijapur. Chand Bibi Bent Afzal Khan to meet the enemies, and he repulsed Qutub Shah and Nizam Shah. When Afzal Khan was engaged in these raids, Chand Bibi appointed Kishwar Khan her minister.

When Afzal Khan came out victorious in these campaigns and settled in the fort of Shah Dark, Kishwar Khan sent him a firman of the king that all the booty that had fallen into his hand be sent to the capital. This roused Afzal Khan's anger who sent a letter to Chand Bibi complaining against the unworthy behaviour of Kishwar Khan and also recommended that Mustafa Khan should take his place. By this time Kishwar Khan had acquired such power that for him the king was a mere nonentity.

Chand Bibi accepted the proposal of Afzal Khan and sent messengers to Bankapur in search of Mustafa Khan.

When Kishwar Khan heard this, he sent Amin Khan with a small army towards Bankapur to prevent Mustafa Khan from entering Bijapur. The two armies met and Amin Khan killed Mustafa Khan.

After the murder of Mustafa Khan, Kislv war Khan's conspiracy reached Chand Bibi's ears, she got enraged and rebuked Kishwar Khan. This led to a declaration by Kishwar Khan of open hostility against Chand Bibi. One day in the Darbar, Kishwar, Khan accused Chand Bibi of divulging the secrets of Bijapur to her brother Murtaza Nizam Shah. This produced a very bad effect on the nobles and most of them joined Kishwar Khan in his pursuits. After this Chand Bibi was ordered to vacate the Royal When Chand Bibi refused to obey, some palace. women were sent to the palace who forcibly put her in a palanguin and confined her in the fort of Sitarsu Firishta has mentioned this in his history.

Another historian writes that Chand Bibi was only put in the palanquin, and her mates and servant-girls were on bullocks, bare-headed and

bare-backed. This scene was so heart-rending that the subjects wept at the sight of the procession. The author of Basatin mentions another event no less heart-rending and that was the murder of Ali AdilShah.

Ibrahim was too young for such drastic developments. But when the nobles, who had marched against Qutub Shah and Nizam Shah, came to know of all these affairs, they returned immediately to Bijapur. Kishwar Khan could not confront them and fled to Ahmadnagar. The same day Ibrahim's mother appointed Ikhlas Khan Habshi as Viceroy and he sent for Chand Bibi from Sitara fort, and she was brought to Bijapur with due respect and dignity.

Ikhlas Khan was a noble of irritable nature and in the habit of doing things hastily, which led some of the nobles to suspect him. At the same time Qutub Shah and Nizam Shah began devastating Bijapur. This was a critical moment for the state. How Chand Bibi controlled the situation is worth inscribing in letters of gold.

The first step that Chand Bibi took in this direction was that she summoned Ikhlas Khan and Hamid Khan and informed them that the army was not satisfied with their doings, which would certainly work as a stepping-stone to the destruction of her kingdom, and suggested that for a few days they should be replaced by some other nobles of influence. Although Ikhlas Khan was very proud and had a rebellious nature, yet he accepted her proposal with due respect. Consequently Chand Bibi appointed Shah Abul Hassan in his place and despatched armies to fight against Qutub Shah and Nizam Shah.

Even after attaining the age of discretion, Ibrahim respected Chand Bibi very much. She managed the affairs of the state even after Ibrahim was of age and the Prince never acted without consulting her.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Return of Chand Bibi from Bijapur to Ahmadnagar.

Rafiuddin Shirazi and Ibrahim Zubairi state that after her marriage, Chand Bibi¹⁵ came to Bijapur and remained there up to 992 A.H., and during this period she never visited Ahmadnagar.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II appointed Dilawar Khan as his Prime Minister in 990 A.H., he was the wisest and the most loyal of the nobles of Bijapur. But at this time Bijapur was a victim of maladministration and had become a centre of strife-In 992 A.H., he sent his messenger to Salabat Khan, Prime Minister of Ahmadnagar, and established cordial relations with him because after Ibrahim's accession some tension had arisen between them; and the Nizam Shahi kings had raided Bijapur many a time.

This union effected by Dilawar Khan resulted in this, that in 992 A..H. Murtaza Nizam Shah sent a letter to Ibrahim Adil Shah requesting the hand

15. Manuscript Tazkiratul-Muluk; Deccan History part II, 148; Tarikh-i-Firishta chapter III, Division, III, 146.

of Khudija Sultana, his sister, for his son Miran Hussain. Ibrahim gladly accepted this proposal. The same year Qasim Beg son of Ahmad Beg Buzurg and Mirza Taqi set out for Bijapufwith 400 men to bring the bride; and bridegroom's men stayed in Shahpur. The ceremonies continued for fully four months with great splendour. After this the bride was sent to Ahmadnagar. Chand Bibi also desired to accompany the bride, firstly because she loved Khudija Bibi and secondly because she would have had an opportunity of meeting her brother Murtaza Nizam Shah. At last, both Chand Bibi and the bride left for Ahmadnagar.

After Chand Bibi 's arrival at Ahmadnagar, Salabat Khan, in 995 A.H., demanded the territory of Sholapur from Ibrahim Adil Shah. This territory was given by Hussain Nizam Shah as Chand Bibi's dowry. At this Ibrahim Adil Shah invaded Ahmadnagar towards the end of 995 A.H, or the beginning of 996 A.H. Murtaza Nizam Shah was unaware of the operations of Salabat Khan. When the reality dawned upon him, he suspended Salabat Khan and appointed Qasim Beg in his place, and also effected reconciliation with Ibrahim Adil Shah.

CHAPTER IX.

Chand Bibi's endeavours in favour of Bahadur Nizam Shah.

After the murder of Ibrahim Nizam Shah¹⁶, Son of Burhan Nizam Shah, dissensions spread all over the country which resulted in great loss for Ahmadnagar. Mian Manju was the minister of Ibrahim Nizam Shah whom the king had dismissed in his own life-time. When Ibrahim died, he captured the Royal treasury and began strengthening his power.

During the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah 1 and Salabat Khan's Vice-regency, Shah Tahir, a man of unknown pedigree, came to Ahmadnagar and claimed to be a descendant of the Nizam Shahi Dynasty. He declared that he was the son of Prince Khuda Banda and grandson of Burhan Nizam Shah I, but at the accession of Hussain Nizam Shah, Khuda

^{16.} Tarikch-i-Firishta Chapter III, Division II, 156, 157; Manuscript Tazkirat-ul-Mululk, Darbar-e-Asaf Volume II, 155; Encyclopedia of Islam, Volume II 206; History of Ahmadnagar, 25; Supplement to Jamiul Ulum Volume I, 9; Beals' Oriental Biographical Dictionary 174.

Banda, fearing his brother, had emigrated to Bengal and had died there. Salabat Khan despatched messengers to Bengal for investigation as regards Shah Tahir's claims. When his falsehood was confirmed, Salabat Khan imprisoned him in the fort of Daulatabad where he died after a short time. But his son Ahmad Shah was still in Daulatabad. Mian Manju brought him to Ahmadnagar and put him on the throne in place of Ibrahim Nizam Shah on the day of I'd-u-duha; Khutba was said in his name in all the mosques of the city, and Bahadur Nizam Shah, son of Ibrahim Nizam Shah was imprisoned in the fort of Junair.

This conspiracy of Mian Manju and his nobles aggrieved Chand Bibi intensely. After constant endeavours she was successful in making the peers of the Court believe that he was not of Royal blood and was the son of a person who impersonated a prince. When this news spread, some of the nobles turned against Mian Manju; and Ikhlas Khan Habshi, with dauntless courage, proclaimed Bahadur Nizam Shah as king. He sent some of his men to

^{17.} It is written in Guldasta-e-Bijapur that at that time-Ahmad son of Shah Tahir was 14 years of age.

bring the king from the fort. But the commander of the fort was an associate of Mian Manju, so he refused to release the Prince. Ikhlas Khan took up a stranger and giving him the name of Bahadur Shah, put him on the throne. These dissensions resulted in conflicts between Ikhlas Khan and Mian Manju in which Ikhlas Khan had the upper hand.

When Mian Manju saw the increasing power of Ikhlas Khan and the success of Bahadur Shah, all his hopes vanished and being confused, he invited Prince Murad to invade Ahmadnagar and promised to surrender the city. At that time Murad was the Governor in Gujrat. The Emporer Akbar had also ordered him to invade the Deccan.

Before his application reached its destination, Mian Manju had however, improved his position and on the 25th of Moharrum 1004 A.H., he secretly entered the fort and imprisoned Moti Shah. At the same time Prince Murad marched towards Ahmadnagar with 8,000 soldiers. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Shah Rukh Mirza, Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, Raja Jagannath, Raja Durga, Raja Ramchander and many other nobles joined the Prince in the expedi-

tion with their own contingents. Rajah Ali the ruler of Burhanpur, also added 6,000 soldiers to the Prince's forces. The Prince entered Ahmadnagar in triumph with 30,000 Mughal and Rajput soldiers.

When Mian Manju learnt about the Prince's arrival he got very much upset and surrendering the fort to Chand Bibi and Ansar Khan, departed for Owsa taking with him Ahmad Shah.

Ansar Khan commanded the confidence of Mian Manju which caused Chand Bibi much anxiety. She feared lest he should hand over the fort to the Mughals. Consequently, she had him murdered by Mohamed Khan Amir. This gave Chand Bibi the sole possession of the fort.

Prince Murad besieged the fort on the 23rd of Rabiul-Awal 1004 A.H. Ahmadnagar had five claimants at the time:—(1) Bahadur Nizam Shah, (2) Mian Manju's Ahmad Shah, (3) Ikhlas Khan's Moti Shah, (4) Shah Ali son of Burham Nizam Shah, (5) and the invading Mughal army.

Shah Ali, at this time, had completed his 70th year and Ikhlas Khan Habshi settled in Daulatabad with Moti Shah.

CHAPTER X.

Conflict of Chand Bibi¹⁸ with Prince Murad.

When Mian Manju, leaving Ahmadnagar, reached Owsa, he sent his son Hasan Shah Mahmud, and Murtaza Khan Anju to Ibrahim Adil Shah. But the latter showed no favours towards them because he was much interested in Ahmadnagar due to Chand Bibi, and had always endeavoured to make its existence permanent. Besides this there was a political motive as well. He knew that if the Mughals captured Ahmadnagar, they would certainly extend their territory which might include the whole of the Deccan, and would make it a scene of intrigue and riots. Under these circumstances he did not consider it reasonable to remain neutral; and to help Chand Bibi, he sent an army of 30,000 soldiers, under the command of Suhel Khan, towards Ahmadnagar¹⁹. Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah also added to the

^{18.} Manuscript Tazkirat-ul-Muluk; Basatin-us-Salatin; Muntakhibul-lubaby volume III, 285; History of Ahmadnagar; Supplement to Dasturul-Ulama Volume I, page 9; History of the Deccan, part II, page 249.

^{19.} Was one of the great nobles of Bijapur. He held the; post of Commander-in-chief during the reign of Ibrahim A dil Shah I I.

strength of this army by sending 7,000 foot-soldiers. At that time Mian Manju, who was putting up in the fort of Shah Dark, also joined the Bijapur army *in* conjunction with Ikhlas Khan Habshi. In this way a great army of 60,000 soldiers was formed to confront the Mughals.

The author of the Deccan History writes that such a large army had never been witnessed from the date of the battle of Talikota till that day.

The Mughals besieged the fort and dug entrenchments. On the next day a battle took place between the Mughals and Chand Bibi. The siege lasted fully three months but the Mughals suffered no appreciable loss. The Histories of the Deccan and India are full of the gallant deeds that Chand Bibi

His combats have been depicted in detail by Firishta the historian, Rafiuddin Shirazi, Ibrahim Zubairi and the author of Qutub Shahi History. Ibrahim deputed him for the repulsion of the Mughals several times as a commander of the forces. He earned for himself a great name in these battles due to his heroic deeds. He fought, a fierce battle against the Mughals near Godavari in 1005 A.H., in: which the Moghals suffered a crushing defeat. Adil Shah had granted him Shah Dark as a Jagir and he lived there thenceforth.

Towards the end of 1005 A.H., by the orders of Ibrahim Adil Shah, Rafiuddin Shirazi went to see Suhel Khan at Shah Dark. Rafiuddin writes that his court was in no way less than that of the King.

performed at this time, and this is the most famous and heroic deed of Chand Bibi. During the siege, Chand Bibi defended with determination and perseverance and checked the advance of the Mugbals. The invaders had to flee, out of the range of •cannons, and were completely baffled.

The author of the "History of Ahmadnagar" writes about these battles thus, "It was a most arduous task for the Mughals to capture the fort of Ahmadnagar because Chand Bibi offered such stubborn resistance that the Mughals could not even reach the trenches'*.

When the Mughals learnt about the arrival of Adil Shah and Qutub Shah's army, they were very much dejected. They made up their minds to capture the fort before any reinforcements could arrive. To give this a practical shape, Prince Murad summoned Khan-i-Khanan and ordered him to do his best to capture the fort before the arrival of Adil Shah's army. Khan-i-Khanan, accordingly, 20 began the construction of mines right up to the wall of the fort

 $^{20.\} The\ mine-laying\ began\ on\ the\ 28th\ of\ Jamadi-us-Sani,\ 1004\ A.H.$

starting from his own position, and when five mines were ready up to the wall of the fort, they were filled with gun-powder and stones,

Chand Bibi, after a great effort, won the favour of Khwaja Muhammad Khan Shirazi, a noble of Akbar's court, who informed her of *every* plan of Murad, from time to time.

When Chand Bibi came to know of the mines she ordered for their search. The next day. up to the time of the Jumma prayer, two of them were discovered and they were emptied of their contents. Three of them were still under search, when by the orders of Prince Murad, they were blown up.

Khafi Khan writes that the Prince was eager that the victory of Ahmadnagar be ascribed to him alone. That was why he blew up the mines without the knowledge of Khan-i-Khanan²¹

The shock was so severe that the wall of the fort sank nearly 50 feet all of a sudden.

^{21,,}the Amines ...were sprung on Juma, the 1st of Rajab, $1004~\mathrm{A.H.}$

As the men in the fort were already prepared for this shock they suffered no loss. When the breach was made, Chand Bibi, with a veil on her face, came out of the palace and-stood at the dilapidated portion of the wall.

Chand Bibi's defence was so stubborn that the Mughals were severely repulsed., When the men in the fort saw the queen herself busy in defence, they also attacked the enemy with courage and loyalty. The battle continued till sunset and the Mughals effected a retreat. Chand Bibi got the broken portion of the wall rebuilt before sunrise and did not leave the place till the wall went up two to three yards; and the newly-built portion was stronger than before.

The Mughal historians state that when the Prince returned to his camp, he took the defeat very much to heart and was much impressed with the courage of Chand Bibi.

After this great defence Chand Bibi came to be known as Chand Sultana*.

CHAPTER XI.

Compromise of Chand Bibi with Prince Murad²².

After this blood-shed, Chand Bibi had a firm conviction that it was not easy to face the Mughals with so small an army at her command in the fort. She sent a letter to Suhel Khan asking him to send her help. It so happened that the letter reached the hands of Khan-i-Khanan and Muhammad Sadiq. The Mughals were already tired of fights and in spite of possessing so large an army had admitted defeat. Besides this the night-attacks of certain desperate soldiers of the fort had annoyed them very much. They thought it advisable to ask Suhel Khan to help them in getting out of this difficulty. They wrote to Suhel Khan that

^{22.} Prince Murad was the son of Emperor Akbar. He was born of Salima Begum on 8th June 1570 A.D., — 978 A.H., at Fatehpur .Sikri. In 1004 A.H., Akbar sent him together with Khan-i-Khanan on the Deccan expedition. He fought many a battle with Chand Bibi and effected reconciliation with her by taking Berar. He was very much addicted to drinking which resulted in his death in Shahpur in 1007 A.H. His body was brought to Delhi and was buried in the enclosure of Humayun's tomb.

the strife had lasted long and that he should come personally and settle their respective rights in the Deccan to avoid further occurrences of that type.

Suhel Khan received these two letters when he was in the vicinity of Bir and at once set out for the Deccan.

The Prince, too, had fully understood the situation that so long as Chand Bibi was there, there no prospects of victory. He consulted Muhammad Sadig and Khan-i-Khaijan in the Khan-i-Khanan advised him to effect a reconciliation. Sayvid Muhammad Murtaza Sabazwari was sent to Chand Bibi as a messenger of peace. In the beginning Chand Bibi, differing on certain conditions, did not accede to the proposal but she settled all the terms of peace secretly with Mughals; and according to this treaty she had to surrender the territories of Berar and other 'Parganas* conquered from the Barid Shahi kings, to the Mughals. All that was left to Chand Bibi extended from Mahur to Bander Cheval and from Parenda & Daulatabad to Gujarat.

In Shaban 1004 A.H., when the terms of the treaty were signed, the Prince, passing through Daulatabad, came back to Berar.

The motive which led Chand Bibi to enter into this truce was to protect Ahmadnagar from Mughal onsets. But the desired end was not achieved. It resulted in a division between Chand Bibi and the nobles, and the possibilities of a civil war became imminent.

CHAPTER XII.

Chand Bibi enthrones Bahadur Nizam Shah.

After the Mughal retreat, Chand Bibi summoned Bahadur Nizam Shah from the fort of Juniar and enthroned him by the end of Shaban 1 004 A.H. At the same time Suhel Khan had also come to the suburbs of Ahmadnagar. He had already learnt about the departure of the Mughals but he desired to see Chand Bibi and to know real state of affairs.

After the Mughals had retired, Mian Manju again decided to get the throne for Ahmad Nizam Shah. But Ibrahim Adil Shah, dissuading him from taking any practical step, called him to Bijapur, enlisted his son Hussain among his favourite nobles and granting a Jagir to Ahmad Nizam Shah, put an end to all conflicts.

Prince Murad and Khan-i-Khanan came from Ahmadnagar, and establishing a military

station at Balapur laid the foundation of a city which is now known as Shahpur and is considered to be the first Mughal foothold in the Deccan.

When Emperor AkBar came to know of the peace effected at Ahmadnagar and the annexation of Berar, he was not fully satisfied with what had happened. In order to strengthen his power in the Deccan, he asked for the hand of the daughter of Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, for Prince Murad. The marriage resulted in a close alliance between the Mughals and the kings of Khandesh. Akbars motive in creating this relationship was to get help from Raja Ali Khan whenever he invaded the Deccan.

CHAPTER XIII.

Rebellion of the nobles in Ahmadnagar.

Conflict of Chand Bibi's nobles with the Mughals.

After the accession of Bahadur Nizam Shah, Chand Bibi appointed Muhammad Khan as the Prime Minister. Muhammad Khan was the son of Mian Habib-ullah. Mian Habib-ullah was the son of the nurse of Murtaza Nizam Shah I. In the beginning he performed his duties in an excellent manner, but having gained power, he gave all the high posts to his relatives. The nobles could no longer tolerate such partiality. The result of these contentions was that Muhammad Khan imprisoned Ahang Khan Habshi and Shamsher Khan, who were chief and favourite nobles of the country; so many nobles were displeased with Muhammad Khan.

At this moment Chand Bibi sent her messenger to Ibrahim Adil Shah, who after appointing Suhel Khan as his Commander-in-chief, sent him to Ahmadnagar in 1005 A.H. A fierce battle was fought between Suhel Khan and Muhammad Khan with the result that Muhammad Khan had to take refuge in the fort and went on resisting for full four months. At length, being worried by the siege, he sought the help of Khan-i-Khanan. When this news was published, the men in the fort arrested Muhammad Khan and put him in the custody of Chand Bibi.

Chand Bibi suspended Muhammad Khan, and gave the ministry to Ahang Khan Habshi and sent back Suhel Khan with robes of honour. When Suhel Khan reached the banks of the Godavari, he learnt that the Mughals had captured Patri in contravention of the terms of the Treaty according to which Patri was beyond the limits of Berar. Suhel Khan informed Ibrahim Adil Shah of all this. By this time Chand Bibi and Ahang Khan had also come to know of it. Chand Bibi again wrote to Adil Shah and Qutub Shah for help. Ibrahim sent Suhel Khan back. Qutub Shah also despatched Mahdi Quli Khan as his commander-in-chief to the help of Chand Bibi. Chand Bibi sent 7,000 soldiers to

Berar. The three armies united at Sonpat. Khan-i-Khanan who, at the time, was camping at Jalna, went at once to help Prince Murad at Shahpur. After obtaining the permission of the Prince, he joined Rajah Ali Khan, the ruler of Burhanpur and camping on the banks of the Godavari made himself busy digging trenches.

The two armies met on the 18th of Jamadius-sani 1005 A.H., which resulted in a defeat for the Qutub Shahi and Nizam Shahi armies. But Suhel Khan defended the place very boldly and severely defeated Khan-i-Khanan. But on the next day however the scales turned and Khan-i-Khanan came out victorious. At length Suhel Khan made a hasty retreat after being repulsed by the Mughals.

CHAPTER XIV

Chand Bibi's conflicts²³ with Ahang Khan. The Advent of Bijapur's ambassador to establish peace.

After Suhel Khan's return, Chand Bibi's relations with Ahang Khan Habshi became strained. Historians state that after this defeat Ahang Khan became the bitterest enemy of the Mughals and sought for an opportunity to avenge the defeat. This was the cause of the unpleasantness which had set in between Chand Bibi and Ahang Khan.

Ahang Khan was a man of a very ordinary status, but Chand Bibi's favours raised him to the status of a noble.

When Chand Bibi learnt that Ahang Khan was not on good terms with her, she ordered him to guard the fort outside the city. He obeyed her orders with sincerity and loyalty for some time, but afterwards being led away by certain malicious persons,

^{23.} Tarikh-i-Firishta, Part II, page 161; Manuscript Tashirat-ul-Muluk History of Ahmadnagar, page 21.

rebelled and made up his mind to get the throne by arresting Chand Bibi and Bahadur Nizam Shah. Consequently, he besieged the fort. Chand Bibi again wrote to Ibrahim Adil Shah for help. But Ibrahim Adil Shah who had already become the victim of the treachery of nobles due to internal dissensions could not gather forces for Chand Bibi. He despatched Rafiuddin Shirazi, who was the Hakim of Bijapur and tutor of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah, as an ambassador, at about the end of i 005 A.H., to suppress these conflicts in Ahmadnagar.

Rafiuddin first visited Suhel Khan at Shah Dark. Ill-feeling had crept in between Suhel Khan and the king. He was successful in removing this differencebetween them and left straight for Ahmadnagar.

When he entered the city, he found it in a deplorable state and the citizens in great anxiety and confusion.

When Ahang Khan learnt about the arrival of Rafiuddin, he arranged for a grand reception and made him his guest of honour for a day. Next

day Chand Bibi sent Sayyid Ali Tarikhi with the Prime Minister to receive him. Rafiuddin entered the fort with them. Chand Bibi acquainted him with all the facts of the ungratefulness of Ahang Khan, and hostility of other nobles towards her. On the third day he effected a reconciliation between Chand Bibi and Ahang Khan, and made the king Bahadur Nizam Shah, to stand on one of the towers of the fort where he was received with salutations by the people below. On the fourth day a Darbar was held, the crown was placed on the throne and all the nobles gave nazars and were given robes of honour and titles.

As this peace was established by the order and power of Ibrahim Adil Shah, all the nobles prayed for his long life and prosperity.

This truce did not prove to be much useful for the country. A few days after, Ahang Khan's men and those in the fort began to quarrel and the army outside the fort arrested three or four men of the fort. This infused new life into the old and dead struggle. Ahang Khan again took up arms against Chand Bibi which resulted in his repulsion. Although Bahadur

Nizam Shah was young at the time, yet he boldly stood on the tower and encouraged his men to put up a stubborn fight. An arrow was shot at the Prince from the enemy's army, but it just missed the Prince and grazing the Royal turban, hit a slave who instantly died. Rafiuddin tried for the second time to bring about a reconciliation between the nobles and he was again successful. Chand Bibi was not satisfied with this truce but kept quiet out of policy. Rafiuddin exerted his utmost to keep Ahang Khan true to his word but all was in vain. Ahang Khan again, on one occasion, entered the fort forcibly. Malik Sandal Barid confronted him with 200 men. Ahang Khan was defeated and many of his men were slain in the scuffle.

To settle these affairs Rafiuddin Shirazi had to stay at Ahmadnagar for a considerable time but he did not succeed in his attempts, and finding himself helpless, acquainted Ibrahim of all that had happened. Ibrahim realised the hopelessness of the situation, and called Rafiuddin back by the middle of 1006 A.H.

CHAPTER XV

Prince Danyal goes to Ahmadnagar.

Ahang Khan Habshi raised the siege of the fort of Ahmadnagar and left for Bir, where Sher Khwaja was the Mughal ruler. Ahang Khan invaded Bir. Sher Khwaja sought the help of Abul Fazal²⁴. Before the re-inforcements could arrive, Ahang Khan captured the fort and the city came under his sway.

At the same time (i.e., in 1007 A.H.) Prince Murad died. At first his body was kept at Balapur but was afterwards removed to Delhi.

Akbar loved Murad very much. When the news of his death reached Akbar, he was much

^{24.} Khan-i-Khanan and Chand Bibi both belonged to the same dynasty and therefore he never thought of ruining Ahmadnagar. When the Prince came to know of this weakness, he informed Akbar, of Khan-i-Khanan is intentions. Akbar appointed Abul Fazal as Commander-in-Chief for the Deccan expedition in 1006 A.H., and despatched him towards Balapur. Abul Fazal captured the famous forts of Pomala, Khorla and Kavel. At this Sher Khwaja complained against Abul Fazal to Akbar who sent Khan-i-Khanan to the Deccan in 1007 A.H.

affected by it. As the Prince was deputed for the Ahmadnagar expedition, it remained incomplete due to his death. This led Akbar to leave the capital and march towards Khandesh. He was himself busy in the campaign of Burhanpur and sent Prince Danyal in conjunction with Khan-i-Khanan to Ahmadnagar.

CHAPTER X V I

Prince Danyal's invasion of Ahmadnagar and conflict with Chand Bibi.

Prince Danyal²⁵ and Khan-i-Khanan²⁶ marched towards Ahmadnagar in 1008 A.H., with 30,000 men. At the time Ahang Khan had camped near Chittur. When the news of the Prince's march reached him, he fled to Juniar setting fire to his tents. After crossing the river the Prince pitched his tents outside the city. Khan-i-Khanan

^{25.} Was the third son of Emperor Akbar and was born of the daughter of Rajah Behari Mall Kachva on the 10th of December 1572 A.D., or in 980 A.H., at Koba in Ajmer. He was named after the famous dervesh Sheikh Danyal. Akbar, after the death of Prince Murad (in 1007 A.H.) deputed him for the Deccan expedition. He captured Ahmadnagar on 1st Moharram 1009 A.H. His health suffered due to excessive drinking, till in 1604 A.D., or in 1013 A.H., he died in Burhanpur at the age of 33. Akbar was much affected by his death and could not survive the shock. Akbar died within one year of his death in 1605 A.D., or in 1014 A.H.

^{26.} Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan—was the Prime Minister of Emperor Akbar and the son of Bairam Khan. He was born on the 14lh of Safar 964 A.H., or in 1556 A.D. He was a descendant of Amir Qara Yusuf, a king of Qara-Qoyunlu dynasty. Chand Bibi's mother Khunza Humayun and Sultan Quli Qutubul Mulk also belonged to the same dynasty. His father Bairam Khan was murdered when he was four years of age. After attaining the age of discretion he was employed by Akbar and in a short time he was given important

besieged the city by adopting old methods of seige therein, and dug entrenchments on the same old principle.

When Chand Bibi²⁷ learnt about the presence of Akbar at Burhanpur, she took refuge in the fort after completing all arrangements for necessary provisions and war-materials, and sent messengers to Adil Shah and Qutub Shah.

Adil Shah evaded help for certain reasons. Qutub Shah also adopted an attitude of indifference when he found Adil Shah silent on the matter. Chand Bibi cherished high hopes of Bijapur and Golconda and considered them to be her only defence. But when they remained neutral, she lost all hope.

offices, Khan-i-Kharan performed great deeds of valour of which the expedition of Gujarat is famous in history in which he earned a great name. He succeeded Todar Mall as Prime Minister, when the latter died. He was a great scholar of Sanskrit and Brij Bhasha. He has written couplets (Dohras) in Brij Bhasha which are well known. He translated *Tuzuk-i-Babari* into Persian. In the days of Jahangir he served for years as a minister. He died in 1036 at Delhi and his tomb is situated near the tomb of Hazrait Khawaja Nizamuddin Aulia. In 1007 A.H., he had given his daughter Jani Begum in marriage to Prince Danyal. He was a great patron of men of knowledge. The famous author Abdul Baqi Nihavandi has written his biography by the name of *Ma'asir-e-Rahimi*, which is being published in instalments by the Asiatic Society Calcutta.

^{27.} Tarikh Firishta, Volume 11, p. 162; Muntakhibul-Lubab Volume III, p. 262; Supplement to Jamiul-Ulum, Volume I, p. 12.

Chand Bibi became desperate and resisted the Mughal attack with such courage that the invaders were repulsed at many places. When they realised that it was almost impossible to get the fort by attack, they laid mines. This work was completed very soon under the guidance of Khwaja Abdul Hussain Tirmazi and when they were blown up, a great portion of the wall sank and the Mughals immediately entering the fort through the breach captured it.

Sultan Bahadur Nizam Shah was viewing the battle standing on a tower. He was arrested by the Mughals and sent to Akbar at Burhanpur.

When Chand Bibi learnt about the sinking of the wall and the Mughals capturing the fort, she ordered a well to be filled with acid. She threw herself into it and thus ended her life.

It is given in Jamiul-ulum that Danyal's attack lasted four months and four days and the Prince captured the fort on the 1 st. of Moharram 1009 A.H.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Death of Chand Bibi

In connexion with the death of Chand Bibi²⁸, Firishta the historian, and Rafiuddin Shirazi state that when the Mughals besieged the fort, Chand Bibi thought of surrendering the fort to the Mughals and entered into a treaty as she had done before by submitting Berar. At this a Habashi noble forcibly entered the palace and murdered her. Firishta and the author of Tazkiratul-Muluk have mentioned the name of her murderer as Cheeta Khan. But the histories compiled in Ahmadnagar give a different version of the event.

Tarikh-i-Shahabi, a famous history of Ahmadnagar, describes this incident thus. When the Mughals entered the fort, Chand Bibi got a well filled with acid and died by throwing herself into it.

^{28.} Tarikh-i-Firishta, Volume II, 164; Manuscript Tazkiratul-Muluk; Muntakhabul-Lubab, Volume III, 2(52; History of Ahmadnagar, 26. Supplement to Jami ul-ulum, Volume I, 9.

The author of the "History of Ahmadnagar" says on the testimony of Firishta that Chand Bibi was murdered by Cheeta Khan Habashi. In fact she was not Chand Bibi but a companion of Chand Bibi and incidentally her name too was Chand Bibi, which led to the mistake.

The author of the "History of Ahmadnagar" writes on the authority of a very old author, Sayyid Jafar, that Chand Bibi and all her companions threw themselves in the 'Machli Baoli' and died. As requested by Bahadur Nizam Shah, Danyal got these corpses taken out of the well and Chand Bibfs dead body was also found therein. All these were buried in Rauza Bagh and Chand Bibi's grave was made of brick and lime.

The capture of the fort and the death of Chand Bibi took place on the 1st of Moharram I009A.H.

The famous Historian Khafi Khan writes about the death of Chand Bibi as follows:—

واینکه شهرت عام دار د وبر السنه مردم دکن جاری است که چاند بی بی خود را درباولی انداخته مفقود

الاثر كرديد خلاف مضمون تاريخ مجد قاسم فرشته (منتخباللباب جلد سوم صفحه ۲۹۳)

(Translation)' It is commonly known and the inhabitants of the Deccan also relate that Chand Bibi threw herself into a well and disappeared. But this statement is contrary to that given by Muhammad Qasim Firishta'.

Of the different versions that have been given above as regards Chand Bibi's death, the first is that of the historians of Bijapur. The second version is given by the historians of Ahmadnagar. We hesitate to accept the view given by the Bijapur historians as the Bijapuris had no direct connexion with the event and there was no commander of Bijapur in Ahmadnagar at the time. What the historians of Ahmadnagar have stated is based on what has been heard and seen.

The author of Jamiul-ulum has described the lamentable event of Chand Bibi's death with great precision in the following words:—

چاندی بی که در حسن و جمال وسیرت و صورت به آفتاب و ماهتاب هسری داشت و از اطو از اشکریان دهلی چنین مرکوز خاطر آن خد یو گیهان عصمت و عفت شده بود که اگر بدست آنها افتد عفت اونخو اهد ما ند ازین جهت در خم بزرگ که پر از تیز اب آب گندگ نموده بودند خود را انداخت و در طرفته العین لاشی گسر دید تا قالب او بعد موت هم از نظر ناعر مان محفوظ ماند (جام العلوم شیمه جلد اول سنعه ه)

good nature, taking into consideration the habit and behaviour of the Delhi army, feared that if she were arrested alive, she would be ravished. To save her chastity she got a big vat filled with acid and jumped into it. In the twinkling of an eye her body was dissolved in it, and even after death no stranger could cast glance at her body'.

Muhammad Qasim Firishta has related this event in his Tarikhi Firishta as follows:—

جاند سلطان به چیته خان خو احه سر اکه درون قلعه بو دگفت آهنگ خان و دیگر سر داران نقض عبد نمودہ چنداں سرکشی و بے اعتدالی نمود ن کہ از شا مت آن اکر با دشاه خود متوجه دکن کر دید و اس قلعه نیز چند روز مفتو ح انشان خواهد کشت جیته خا ں گفت که گذشته کر شت با لفعل علا ج جیست هرچه را<u>ے</u> صواب نما تقاضا نماید حکم شو د تار ان عمل نمام جاند سلطان گفت صلاح درآنست که قلعه را تسلیم شهزاده دانیال نمایم و به جان وعرض وناموس امان وزينهارخواسته همراه بهادرشاه بجنس برويم ودرا نصوب بوده منتظر لطيفه غيبي باشيم جیته خان اهل حصار را طلبید. فریاد *و*آوردکه جا ند سلطان به امرائی اکر بادشاه زبان یکر کر ده میخواهد که قلعه را به انشان سیار دودکنیان بدرون

(Translation) 'Chand Bibi said to Cheeta Khan the-eunuch, "Ahang Khan and other nobles have grown so rebellious that the internal disruptions caused by them has led the Emperor Akbar to invade the Deccan himself. It is apparent that in a few days the fort will fall". Cheeta Khan replied, "Let bygones be bygones I am prepared to act as directed'". Chand Sultana said, "In my opinion we should surrender the fort to the Mughals and retire to Junair to save our life and honour and wait there till we can get help to renew the attack". Cheeta Khan assembled the men in the fort and proclaimed that chand Bibi had entered into conspiracy with the Mughals to surrender the fort to them. This infuriated the mob and they getting out of control entered the harem forcibly and brutally murdered Chand Bibi.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Chand Bibis Religion²⁹

Firishta states that the Nizam Shahi Kings were, in the beginning Sunnis. In 928 A.H. when Shah Thahir, passing through Bijapur and Parenda, came to Ahmadnagar, Burhan Nizam Shah I, adopted the Ismailia religion in 944 A.H. With the exception of Ismail Nizam Shah, who became Mahdi for a short time, all the rulers were Ismaili Shiahs.

Shah Thahir was the descendant of Abul Qasim Muhammad son of Abdullah al Mahdi, the ruler of Qairvan. His genealogy reaches up to Ismail son of Imam Jafar Sadiq. The sovereignty of Mahdi and his descendants continued for 366 years and at its beginning a member of this dynasty had adopted the ways of a Darwesh. He collected many a follower, and his descendants continued this work but in 560 the dynasty of Abdullah

^{29.} Tarikh Firishta, Volume IT, 110-111; Tarikh Haqiqatul Alam, Volume I, 32—37.

al Mahdi came to an end and the Abbasi dynasty took its place. After this revolution, these holy persons and their disciples emigrated to Khund and remained there for 300 years and came to be known as Sadat-i-Khundia. Shah Thahir traced his birth to this dynasty of Khundia. He was a very learned old He had a number of followers in Egypt, Bukhara, Samarkand and Qazvin. Shah Ismail Safavi had also attained the status of a king beginning from the status of a holy person. Therefore he felt the presence, in Iraq, of Shah Thahir to be troublesome to him and wanted to suppress that sect. **But** Mirza Shah Hussain, Dewan of Shah Ismail was a great friend of his. On Dewan's advice Shah Thahir stopped this line of discipleship, and with the permission of the Sultan went to Kashan. He had his followers there who assembled in great numbers in a few days. The king's men informed the king that the Ismailia sect was progressing rapidly and Shah Thahir was trying hard for the propagation of his This led Shah Ismail to issue orders for the murder of Shah Thahir. But Mirza Shah Hussain had already informed Shah Thahir that such an order had been issued against him. Accordingly, in 926

A.H., Shah Thahir and his family, came to Hurun port to embark for India.

By chance on that day a ship was bound for India on board of which he at once embarked. Two hours after his departure, Shah Ismail's men reached the port, but the ship had already weighed anchor and they had therefore to return disappointed.

At this time the Mughals were becoming very prosperous. Various kings held sway in the Deccan at that time. As the kings of Bijapur were Shias, Shah Thahir came to this place first but did not receive any encouragement at their hands. He met Mulla Pir Muhammad at Parenda who was the Prime Minister of Burhan Nizam Shah I. He received Shah Thahir with due respect and got lessons from him in Mijisthy.

Mulla Pir Muhammad was a disciple of Shah Thahir and was considered to be the most learned man in Ahmadnagar. Due to his influence and as Shah Thahir's own fame spread, he obtained access to the *durbar*. The king summoned him to the *durbar* and received him with great honour and after a few days' meeting acknowledged his learning.

In 943 A.H., Abdul Qadir, son of Burhan, fell seriously ill. Burhan loved this child very much. Many a physician was consulted but without any effect. When, for some time, no improvement in his candition was noticed, the king was perturbed. On one occasion, Shah Thahir communicated to the king that he had thought of a plan by which the Prince would soon recover. He asked the king to make up his.mind that on the Prince's recovery he would adopt the Ismailia religion. It so happened that the Prince was quite well when he got up the next day. This strengthened the king's faith in Shah Thahir with the result that he embraced the Ismailia religion along with his family. Afterwards a debate was arranged between Shah Tahir and the scholars of other faiths. As Shah Thahir was the king's favourite, he invariably turned out successful.

Shah Thahir was not only a very learned man but also the author of a number of books. He had made diligent researches in the 'Interpretation of the Holy Quran', Hadis, Fiqa, Fundamentals, Mathematics, Medicine and Astrology. He was a very good writer of poetry and prose. He left many of

his publications to perpetuate his memory, of which KitabuMnsha is considered to be an extraordinary work. He has also written certain odes. Besides these he has endorsed explanatory notes on certain books such as 'Marginal notes on Tafsir-i-Baizavi, explanatory notes on Sharah Jafaria, Fiqa Imamia and Isharat, Mijisthy, Shafa, Mutawwal etc'

Shah Thahir died in 956 A.H., at Ahmadnagar and his dead body was sent to Karbala-i-Mualla. He was buried at a distance of one and a half yards from the tomb of Imam Hussain, the king of martyrs.

Hussain Nizam Shah was the son of Burhan Nizam Shah, who had been also converted to the Ismailia sect with his father. Consequently his daughter, Chand Bibi, also adopted the same Ismailia religion.

CHAND BIBI'S TOMB & SARAI AT GULBARGA



Reproduced by courtesy of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur

CHAPTER XIX.

Chand Bibi's Tomb and other Monuments at Gulbarga

In the supplementary volume of the Archaeological report of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1 331 to 1 333 Fasli, it is stated that Chand Bibi had ordered a tomb to be built for herself at Gulbarga during her life time, which still exists and is known as the tomb of Chand Bibi. It is situated towards the South East of the tomb of Hazrat Khwaja Banda Nawaz. Its pillars and turrets are made of Khara stone and are plastered with lime. From the architectural point of view this is one of the most beautifully decorated tombs of Gulbarga.

I had requested the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari to get me the necessary information and photo of this tomb from Mr. Yazdani the Director of Archaeology Hyderabad, and the letter which Mr. Yazdani has written to Sir Akbar Hydari in this regard, is as follows:—

"....1 am enclosing herewith a photograph of Chand Bibi's tomb at Gulbarga. The plan of

the tomb is square, both internally and externally, measuring 28 ft. 6 in. and 36 ft. each way, respectively. The height of the building, from the ground to the parapet wall, is 48 ft. 6 in. The height of the dome above the parapet is about 25 ft. The tomb is built of the Deccan trap of a greyish tint which has given the building a sombre effect."

On the authority of the Archaeological Department I thought at first that this tomb had been constructed by Chand Bibi, but I had to change my view when I come to know that this idea of the Archaeological Department is based on rumour. After due research I came to know that there is neither any allusion in the History of the Deccan, nor can any note be found in Government documents, nor have the Moghul Chroniclers discussed the point under Gulbarga; so it is quite evident that this tomb has also been associated with Chand Bibi in the same manner as the mosque and the well at Hirapur have been thought to be from Chand Bibi (about which see below).

Besides this in the village of Gulbarga, there are a fine mosque, a well and ruins of a garden. Mr. Yazdani Head of the Archaeological Depart-

ment visited them in 1933 A.D. In his opinion this mosque, the well and the garden were built by the order of Chand Bibi, and he makes the following note in his report of the Archaeological Department 1341-42 F. (1931-33 A.D.).

"The Director during his tour in Gulbarga also visited Hirapur mosque which was built by Chand Bibi in 994, A.H. (1585, A.D.) when she was Queen-regent during the minority of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. The building is an interesting specimen of the Deccan Moslean style of architecture, and originally it had a garden and a well attached to it. The building is in a fair state of preservation, but the garden has fallen into ruins. The well attached to the mosque has an inscription which has been published in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for 1907-8."

In the above note, the Persian inscription he refers to is as follows:—

من الت شهر محرم الحرام سنه ۹۸۹ ه مع عساكر مظفر و منصور درين بقعه منزل فرمود ند و حضرت عليا زمان محدومه جهان و الده نواب فلك اقتدار وسعت شعار وهدايت آثار نظر فرمو دند چشمهٔ آب و باغ باشجار اثمار بنا فرمود ند فى تاريخ از شهر محرم الحرام شهور ۱۹۲۳ من الهجرت النبويه عليه السلام - يا رب اين آثار درگاه دا الى يوم القيام محرمت النبى عليه السلام نگاه دارد بمنة و كرمه آمين -

This above inscription has been published by Major Haig in his "Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica," and his note on it is as follows:—

"It will be observed that Ibrahim II, although the title Adil Shah is affixed to his name and he is

honoured with the ejaculatory prayers proper to the royal title, is described as, The Nawab. At this time all power in the Slate of Bijapur was exercised by the famous Chand Bibi, who is evidently the princess refered to in the inscription by the title Makhduma-i-Jahan, and described as the young king's mother. She was in fact his aunt by marriage, but being Queenregent she probably regarded the king as her adopted son, though she appears to have been so jealous of her power as to grudge him the full titles of royalty''

The title, 'Mukhduma-i-Jahan' is used in the literature of the Deccan only for the mother of the reigning kings; and in the above inscription it has been put instead of the name of the mother.

But, as Chand Bibi was not the mother of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah but his aunt, Major Haig has declared that Chand Bibi being the then Queen-regent she considered Ibrahim Adil Shah her adopted son, and hence the title Makhduma-i-Jahan has been used in this inscription. But the fact is, this mosque, and the adjucent well, as well as the garden have no connection with Chand Bibi, and in declaring them

to belong to Chand Bibi, Mr. Yazdani and before him Major Haig have committed a very serious blunder.

In 991 A.H. Dilawar Khan deprived Chand Bibi of her Regentship of Bijapur.

(Translation) Dilawar Khan reduced the powers and influence of Chand Bibi Sultana and so arranged that no one seeking justice could reach her. (*Tarilch~i-Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 56).

In 992 A.H. Ibrahim Adil Shah's sister Khudija Sultana was betrothed to Shahzada Miran Hussain; and when Ibrahim sent her from Bijapur to Ahmadnagar, Chand Bibi also went with her to visit her brother.

در سنه ا ثنی و تسعین و تسعانه مر تضی نظام شاه مکتوب صادفت اسلوب بیاد شاه عد الت پناه فرستا د ه اظهار مو اصلت نمو د و همشیره اعیا نی آ نحضرت مساة بی بی خدیجه سلطان المشهو ر بر ا جه جیور ا برا مئر پسر خود میران شاه حسین خواستگاری کر ده در همان سال

قاسم بیگ حکیم ولد قاسم بیگ بزرگ و مرزا محمد نقی نظیری و دیگر اشراف و اعیان احمد نگر با چها ر صد نفر از مردم خاصه خیل نظام شاهی در کالی تجمل بعد از چهار ماه از طرفین جشنها و طویها میزرگ بوقوع بعد از چهار ماه از طرفین جشنها و طویها میزرگ بوقوع بیوسته باتمام رسید، بی بی خدیجه را بمقتضا می شریعت نبوی علیه الصلواة و السلام صیغه عقد از دوا ج شهزاده میران حسین گفته پالکی آن مخدره را همراه چاند بی بی سلطان که میل ملاقات بر ادر خودداشت بجانب احمد نگر روا نه ساختند (تاریخ فرشه جد دوم صععه ۲۵)

(Translation) In 992 A.II., Murtuza Nizam Shah sent a letter to Ibrahim Adil Shah, and expressed his wish that Khudija Sultana also known as Raja Jeo, be given in marriage to his son Miran Shah Hussain. In this very year Qasim Baig Hakim son of Qasim Buzorg, and Mirza Muhammad Taqi Nazari with many nobles, went in great pomp from Ahmednagar to Bijapur. Khudija Sultana was inarried, and her palanquin was sent from Bijapur to Ahmednagar. Chand Bibi was very anxious to see her brother Murtuza Nizam Shah, so she also went with the Princess to Ahmednagar. (*Tarikli i-Firishta*, Vol. II., p. 5b).

In 992 A.H., when Chand Bibi went from Bijapur to Ahmednagar, a quarrel arose between Murtuza Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah over the fort of Sholapur which had been given as a dowry to Chand Bibi, about which Firishta has written in his history as follows:—

درسنه اثني وقسعن وتسعانه صلابت خان عوجب فرمان نظام شاه، تاسم بیگ و مرز امحمدتقی نظیری راباحمی ازمردم معتبر بهبيجا يورفرستاد تاخوا هرعادل شاه راجهت شهزاده مير الحسين خواستگاري تمايند...... قاسم بيك ومبرزا محمدتقي خواهرعادل شاهرا بمبران حسبن عقد بسته باحمدنگرآوردنددرانزودی چاندی بی زوجهٔ علی عاداشاه ننز جمت دیدن برادر خود نظام شاه باحمد نگر آمده عملاقات وی فایض کردید صلابت خان بدلاور خاں وکیل السلطنة عادل شاہ پیغام کردکہ حسین نظام شاه که قلعه شولا پور را در جمهزچاند یی پی دادهبود اکنو ب عادل شاه فوت شدو چاندی بیوه گشته وابن طرف آمد، مي بايدكه آن تلعه تسليم كاشتكان نظام شاه نما يند د لاورخان قبول آن امراه كرده صلابت خان رااظهار رنجش نمود وخواهرعادل شاه را مع شهزاده معران حسين به دوات آباد فرستادکه هرگاه عادلشاه قلعه شولا به ربدهد جشن وطوی کرده عروس را بداماد سیارندو الا معطل و مو قوف باشد (تار ع فرشه جلد دوم منحه ۱۳۲)

(Translation) In 992 A.H. Salabat Khan, by order of Nizam Shah, sent Qasim Baig and Mirza Muhammad

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Taqi Naziri and others to Bijapur, to ask Ibrahim Adil Shah to give in marriage his sister to Prince Hussain.... after completing marriage of Prince Hussain with Adil Shah's sister, came to Ahmednagar..... At this time, Chand Bibi the Queen of Adil Shah went to Ahmadnagar to see her brother Murtuza Nizam Shah. Salabat Khan Prime Minister of Ahmadnagar wrote to Dilawar Khan Prime Minister of Bijapur that as Adil 'Shah is' dead and Chand Bibi is a widow, the fort of Sholapur which was given as dowry to her by Hussain Nizam Shah, should be returned. Dilawar Khan refused; so Salabat Khan was much aggrieved, and sent Adil Shah's sister i.e., the wife of Prince Miran Hussain, to Daultabad and threatened not to celebrate the marriage rejoicings at Ahmadnagar. " (Tarikh-i-Firishtd, Vol. IT., p. 144).

From the above noted quotation from Firishta it is evident that Chand Bibi was deprived of her Regency in 991 A.H., and one year later in 992 A.H., she left Bijapur and went to Ahmadnagar to reside with her brother; it was then that Nizam Shah demanded the return of Sholapur Fort which was her dowry; on this account both the kings quarreled.

Under these circumstances it is against all probability to consider Chand Bibi to have been Queen-Regent in 994 A.H., as also to consider the mosque and adjacent structures as those constructed by orders of Chand Bibi.

The truth is, that the mosque etc., have been constructed by Ibrahim Adil Shah's own mother. In histories this Begum has been called "Bari

Saheba," and writers have written of her as "Oolia Hazrat Saheba". She was a clever and intelligent lady, and the court nobles used to consult her on important affairs of the State.

از و مے درخدمت سلطان ابر اهیم درخر آنه عامره در آمد صندوق هائے آلات مرصع کشاده پاره زیور و آلات مرصع کشاده پاره زیور و آلات مرصع جهت پیرایه علیا حضرت بڑی صاحبه و الده سلطان ابراهیم و خاد ما ن آنحضرت در طبق نهاده همراه سلطان در اندرون حرم سرا فرستا د (سامن السلامین ، منعه ۱۲۰)

خدمت گار آن و غلامان خاص بادشاه و دایه گان کللا بوکنیز آن خدمت بادشاه و خدمت علیا حضرت والده بادشاه همه آوده خویش مقرر کرد. (بساطبند السلاطین سنعه ۱۸۱)

پیرز ال معتمد سخن فهم بلند ا در الله در خدمت مهد علیا حضرت والده عادل شاه فر ستاد (بساطین السلامین -منعه ۱۹)

As Ibrahim Adil Shah's mother had great belief in Hazrat Khwaja Banda Nawaz she had her tomb constructed to the South East of that Saint's mausoleum, but it has been wrongly called the tomb of Chand Bibi at Gulbarga.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

I. The Nizam-Shahi Dymasty of Ahmadnagar.

- Ahmad, I. son of Hasan Bahri Nizam-ul-Mulki 891 A.H.
- 2. Burhan, I. son of (1) 914 A.H.
- 3. 901 A.H. Husain, I. son of (2)
- Murtaza, I son of $(\overline{3})$ 972 A.H.
- 5. 996 A.H. Miran Husain, son of (4)
- б. 997 A.H. Ismail, I. son of (7)
- 7. 999 A.H. Burhan, II. son of (3)
- Ibrahim, son of (7) 8. 1003 A.H.
- 9. 1004 A.H. Ahmad, Usurper.
- Bahadur, son of (8) 1004 A.H. 10. 1009 A.H.
- conquests of Akbar. Murtaza, II. grandson of (2) 11. 1009 A.H.
- 12. 1035 A.H. Burhan, 111. son of (11)
- 13. 1040 A.H. Husain, II. son of (12)
- 14. 1042 A.H. Murtaza, III.

II. The Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur.

- Yusuf Adil-Shah. 1. 895 A.H.
- 2. 916 A.H. Ismail, sou of (1)
- 3. 941 A.H. Mallu, son of (2) 4. 941 A.H. Ibrahim, I. son of (2)
- 5. 905 A.H. Ah, I. son of (4)
- 6. 988 A.II. Ibrahim, II. grandson of (4)
- 7. 1037 A.H. Muhammad son of (0)
- 1007 A.H. Ali, II. son of (7)
 - 1083 A.H. sikanda.r son of (8) deposed by Aurangzib. 1097 A.H.

III. The Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda.

- Sultan Quli Qutubul Mulk. 924 A.H.
- Jahshid Quli, son of (1) Sublian Quli, son of (2) 2. 950 A.H.
- 957 A.H. 3.
- Ibrahim Quli, son of (1) 957 A.H. 988 A.H. Muhammad Ouli, son of (4)
- 1020 A.H. Muhammad Qutub-Shah, grandson of (4)
- 7. 1035 A.H. Abdullah.
- 8. 1083 A.H. Abul Hasan Tana-Shah. 1098 A.H. conquered by Aurangzib.

IV. The Barid-Shah Dynasty of Bidar.

- 895 A.H. Oasim Barid, I.
- 2. 3. 4. 5. 910 A.H. Amir, I. son of (1)
- 949 A.H. Ali, I. son of (2)
- 987 A.H. Ibrahim, son of (3)
- 994 A.H. Qasim, II. son of (3)
- Ali, II. 998 A.H.
- 1010 A.H. Amir, II.
 - 1018 A.H. Extinction of the dynasty.

V. The Imad-Shahi Dynasty of Berar, (Capital Elichpur, Cawel).

- 876 A.H. Fathullah Imadul-Mulk.
- 1. 2. 916 **A.H.** Alauddin, son of (1)
- 3. 937 A.H. Daria, son of (2)
 - 969 A.H. Burhan, son of (3)
 - 976 A.H. Tufal Khan.

The Faruqi Kings of Khandesh, (Capital Burhanpur)

- 772 A.H. Malik Raiah.
- 801 A.H. Naseer Khan, son of (1)
- 841 A.H. Miran Adil-Khan, I. son of (2)
- 844 A.H. Mubarak, I. son of (3)
- 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. Adil Khan, II, Miran Adina, son of (4) 861 A.H.
- Daud Khan, son of (4) 897 A.H.
- 914 A.H. Ghaznin Khan, son of (6)
- Humayun Adil Khan, III, grandson of (2) 8. 914 A.H.
- 9. 926 A.H. Miran Muhammad Shah, I. son of (8)
- 10. 942 A.H. Miran Mubarak, II. son of (8)
- 974 A.H. 11. Miran Muhammad Shah, II. son of (10)
- 12. 984 A.H. Rajah Ali Khan, son of (10)
- 13. 1005 A.H. Bahadur Khan, son of (12)
 - 1008 A.H. deposed by Akbar.

Mughal Emperors.

- 932 A.H. 1. Babar, Zahir-uddin.
- 2. .937 A.H. Humayun, Nasir-uddin.
- 3. 963 A..H. Akbar, Jalal-uddin.
- 1014 A.H. Jahangir, Nuruddin. 1037 A.H. Dawar Bakhsh.
- Shah-Jahan, Shahab-uddin, ₹. 1837 A H. 1068 A.H. Murad Bakhsh. 1068 A.H. Shah-Shuja.
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- 9. Rafi-ud-Din Shirazi, Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, MS.
- 10. Tarikh-i-Qutub Shahi, MS.
- 11. Abul-Qasim Mir Alam Shustari, Hadiqat-ul-Alam, Hyderabad, 1320.
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THE AUTHOR IN THE EYES OF INDIAN CELEBRITIES

Hon'ble Sir Abdul Qadir, Kt, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Member of the India Council, London

Sayyid Ahmad Ullah Qadri of Hyderabad (Deccan) is a well known writer and publicist. He has written a number of interesting biographical books in Urdu, the style of which is easy and fluent. They have been very favourably received in literary circles, not only in the Deccan, but also in Upper India.

He is a man of scholarly habits, who devotes all his time to the advancement of the cause of learning, and he has done valuable work for the progress of Urdu literature. It is his good luck that his work has been conducted in a State, the Exalted Ruler of which is the greatest patron of Urdu in India.

I hope his work will receive the appreciation it deserves and that he will be able to continue the great service that he is rendering to the development of the Urdu language and literature.

(Sd.) ABDUL QADIR

LONDON. 22nd August 1936.

Hon'ble Sir S. M. Sulaiman, Kt., M.A., LL. D., Bar-at-law, Chief Justice, High Court, Allahabad

HIGH COURT

Allahabad 27th Dec. 1935

Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Ullah Qadri is an author of several books which testify to his great learning and scholarship. He has a facile pen and an excellent style, with a wonderful command over the Urdu language. A versatile writer of his calibre-author, historian and journalist all combined fully deserves every encouragement. I would be glad to know if his numerous contributions to the Urdu literature are adequately appreciated.

(Sd.) S. M. SULAIMAN

His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur, Kt., P.C., B.A., LL.D., D.C.L.

30th June 1936

Dear Moulvi Sahib,

Thanks for your letter of June the 1 4th, enclosing copies of various appreciations, from eminent men, of your literary works. It is gratifying to know that the encouragement and help I was able to give at the beginning have proved of some avail.

I take this apportunity of congratulating you most warmly on the position you have attained as a research worker in Deccan history.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. HYDARI

Moulvi Sayyid Ahmad Ullah Qadri, *Editor*, "TARIKH", Hyderabad Deccan. His Excellency Sir Ahmad Said Khan, K. C. I. E., LL. D., M. B. E., Nawab of Chhatari, Ex-Governor, United Provinces

Mr. Sayid Ahmad Ullah Qadri of Hyderabad came to see me here some days ago and gave me some of his works of research in the field of History. His command over the Urdu Language is excellent. A writer of Mr. Qadri's calibre deserves every encouragement from all those who are desirous of seeing our mother tongue enriched with literature and History. I hope the public in India in general and the people of Hyderabad in particular will appreciate his services to the cause of Urdu in India.

CHHATARI May 12. 1936.

(Sd.) AHMAD SAID

His Excellency Sir Mahomed Usman, K. C. L E., Ex-Governor of Madras

TEYNAMPET GARDENS MADRAS 9th Jan. 36.

Moulvi Syed Ahmedullah Sahib Qadri is known to me very well. He is an author of several books which testify to his literary attainments which are of a very high order. He has a facile pen and a charming style in Urdu. He is a deep thinker and a good writer. His numerous contributions to the Urdu literature are well known and show his great learning and wide knowledge. I wish him every success.

(Sd.) MD. USMAN

Sir Ahmed Hussain, Nawab Amin Jung Bahadur, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A., LLD., F.R.A.S.

AMIN MANZIL HYDERABAD DECCAN

I have known Mr. Sayyid Ahmad-Uliah Qadri, Editor of 'Tarikh'. intimately for some time. He has an old head on relatively young shoulders. He thinks clearly and writes lucidly. His work in the field of research is of a high order. I admire his artistic sense.

(Sd.) AMIN JUNG

Hon'ble Chowdri Sir Zafrullah Khan, K. C. S. I., Member of the Governor General's Council

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE Simla, 11th August, 1936

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1 st August. I have been much impressed by the labour that you have devoted to the compilation of the two volumes that you were kind enough to present to me. You have rendered great service to the cause of Urdu literature which I hope will be properly appreciated and suitably recognised.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) ZAFRULLAH KHAN

SYED AHMADULLAH SAHIB.